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THE MEDIAEVAL CASTLE IN SCOTLAND

W. MACKAY MACKENZIE

J. K. Annand

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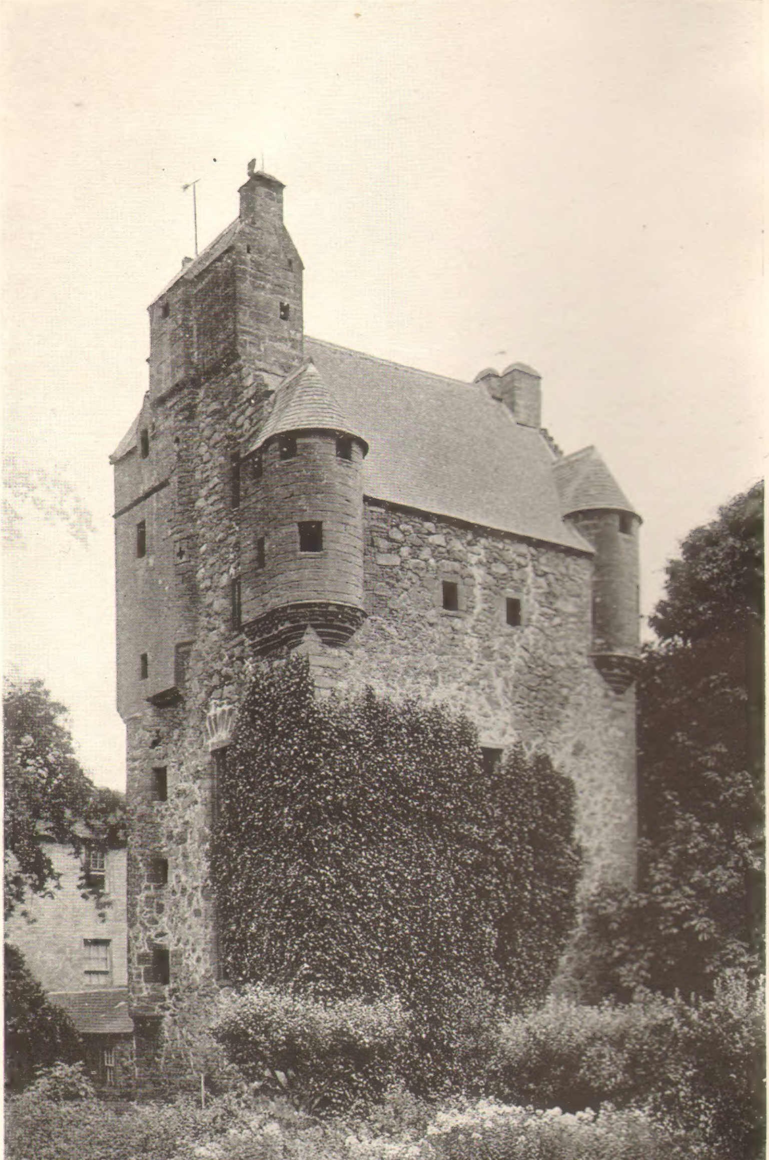

AMISFIELD TOWER (p. 202) FROM NORTH-EAST

THE MEDIAEVAL CASTLE IN SCOTLAND

(RHIND LECTURES IN ARCHAEOLOGY, 1925-26)

BY

W. MACKAY MACKENZIE

AUTHOR OF "BANNOCKBURN: A STUDY IN MEDIAEVAL WARFARE," ETC., ETC.

WITH SIXTY-NINE ILLUSTRATIONS AND NINETEEN PLANS

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PREFACE

THIS volume is based upon the lectures under the Rhind Bequest which, by invitation of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, were delivered by the author in the early part of 1926. The material has been revised and considerably amplified.

Obviously it would be impossible to find place within the compass of this book for even an allusion to every castellated building in Scotland still in existence. Nor could any example be exhaustively treated. For these requirements one must go to such sources as the five volumes by Messrs. McGibbon and Ross on *The Castellated and Domestic Architecture of Scotland*, or the county Inventories, as they appear, of the *Royal Commission on Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland*, or the few independent monographs on particular castles.

The chapters which follow constitute a more general treatment of the subject as a whole, though affording sufficient detail, it is believed, to render any particular example more intelligible to the ordinary observer. The author, however, has handled the material on rather different lines from those more recently followed. At some places, too, divergences from accepted conclusions will be found; while there may be discerned throughout a deliberate abstention from the use of the so-popular term " keep." Fuller discussion of the more important doubts or differences has been relegated to Appendices.

The main fundamental principle introduced is that formulated as the palace plan. It is claimed to account for both the new type of structure that appears with the fifteenth century and the use of the term palace as applied in Scotland to a whole class of buildings, a use of which no explanation has hitherto been offered or even thought necessary.

The specific subject of the book is the Castles of Scotland, but it must not be forgotten that these constituted merely a province in the castle building area of western Europe. Scotland invented nothing in this field, though of course it moulded what it borrowed to its own desires. Thus, however, references to such structures elsewhere become necessary in the course of explanation. That more have not been made is due to the limited extent of the volume.

The author wishes to express his thanks to H.M. Stationery Office and the Royal Commission on Ancient and Historical Monuments for permission to make use of plans and illustrations; also to his colleagues Mr. G. P. H. Watson and Mr. C. S. T. Calder, the former for helpful criticism and the latter for preparing the plans and drawings. To Mr. B. C. Clayton, Ross, Herefordshire, he is indebted for some of the best illustrations.

W. M. M.

April, 1927

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** From photographs by B. C. Clayton*

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NOTE.—The following abbreviations are used in references :—

Acta Dom. Conc. = *Acta Dominorum Concilii,* Acts of the Lords of Council.

Exch. Rolls = Exchequer Rolls of Scotland.

Proc. Soc. Ant. Scot. or P.S.A.S. = Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland.

Reg. Mag. Sig. or *R.M.S.* = *Registrum Magni Sigilli,* Register of of the Great Seal.

Reg. P.C. = Register of the Privy Council.

Reg. Sec. Sig. = *Registrum Secreti Sigilli,* Register of the Privy Seal.

Scotich. = *Scotichronicon,* Fordun and Bower, ed. Goodall (1759).

Stat. Acct. = Statistical Account of Scotland (1791-9).

THE MEDIAEVAL CASTLE IN SCOTLAND

CHAPTER I

THE MOTE-AND-BAILEY CASTLE: XII-XIII CENTURIES

Origin of the Castle—Character of the earliest Castles; Earthworks and Timber Structures—Mote and Bailey—Relics of such in Scotland: Berwick Mote, the Bass of Inverurie, Dun of Invernochty, Castle Law (Berwickshire): motes in Galloway, in Moray—General Characteristics and particular Examples: *lie Moitt et Bailyie of Annan*—English Peels in Scotland: Selkirk, Jedburgh: later usage—Administration based on Castle: Royal Castle, Shire, and Royal Burgh—Castle as protection for Trading Communities—The Flemings and motes of the Flemings in Scotland: significance of "Ingliston"—Legal Associations of the Castle—Duration of Wood and Clay Buildings.

THE castle is the most characteristic structure of the Middle Ages. It dominates the landscape of mediaeval literature. Great ecclesiastical buildings were a tradition from an earlier age, and are still being erected, even in an all too conscious mediaeval style. But the castle had its day and ceased to be. That day dawns vaguely in the records of the tenth century, when allusions begin to this new feature on the mainland of western Europe: in our islands as yet it was unknown. It made its place in the social and political order which distinguishes mediaeval civilisation, and with the passing of that order it became a mere relic of the past.

The novelty of the castle lay in its nature as a private residence which was openly equipped for defence. Permanent fortified positions were in idea old enough. On elevated sites still remain the vestiges of many villages or clusters of dwellings protected by ditch and rampart, which are known generally as hill-forts. But these were the defences of groups or small communities.[1] The Roman Empire had established its fortified cities in Britain as elsewhere and entrenched and walled its frontiers ; and the imperial organisation was even prolonged by the conquerors of its western provinces until it crumbled in their hands. Thereafter a political organisation took shape which was based neither on the family group nor the city state nor the conception of empire, but on the acquired private privileges of powerful individuals, the holders of land ; and this governing class segregated and established itself by developing their residences into fortified places and assuming the right of armed defence and private war. Under such conditions the central authority—the king and the kingly office—faded to little more than a name. Thus—in a very general sense—appeared the highly varied political and social order which we call the Feudal System and with it the feudal castle.[2]

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[1] Reservation must be made in the case of the brochs of Scotland. These, from their size and generally uniform character as well as other features, may be inferred to have been the defensive houses of a dominant class in the community and so analogous to the mediaeval castle. Some indeed have clearly been adapted to this mediaeval use, and at least one structure of this class in Skye was known as a " castle " of the local landlord. Even some of the earlier " duns " or hill-forts, from their restricted area and equipment, may be judged to have afforded accommodation only for a family group. Others can be definitely claimed to be mediaeval fortified dwellings. But neither broch nor dun has any place in the pedigree of the mediaeval castle in Scotland ; that was an entirely foreign importation.

[2] Sir Charles Oman contests this description on the grounds that a castle might be the property of a republic like Venice or of a Swiss

These conditions, first taking root in France proper, spread into the duchy of Normandy, where in the first half of the eleventh century, we gather from the language used by the contemporary historians, the castle was still a comparatively new thing. It was even more so as yet in England; the word *castellum* in this sense appears for the first time in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* in 1048.[1] The occasion was the erection of a *castellum* on the Welsh border by some Norman friends of Edward the Confessor, when the menacing apparition aroused the bitter antipathy of the Welsh. The castle indeed was never loved at first sight; it not only signified a break in the traditional order, but was too often an instrument of local oppression. The appearance of castles roused Normandy to revolt. The first few raised in England by Norman immigrants before the Conquest had a bad reception. For Welsh and Irish they were the weapons of a hateful conquest. And in Scotland, we shall see, they were at first received, at least in certain quarters, in the same unkindly spirit as elsewhere.

Neglecting the premature appearances in England, we may begin the lineage of the castle in these islands by saying that it "came over with the Conqueror" in 1066 in company with the French feudal law, of which it was the material expression.

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canton or be a royal castle. "We cannot, therefore, insist on a castle being necessarily private property." But these cases no more invalidate the claim that this particular type of structure was of private origin than a similar argument would destroy the fact that mediaeval officers of state were in origin the private officers of a baronial household. Sir Charles defines a castle as "a military structure larger than a mere tower, peel, or blockhouse, but not amounting to a fortified town. It must be residential" (*Castles*, published for the Great Western Railway, p. 4).

[1] In Anglo-Saxon charters of earlier dates *castellum* signifies town or village; as it is repeatedly used also in the Scots version of the New Testament of 1520: "And Jesus went about al the citees and castels, techand in the synagogues of tham" (Matt. ix, 35).

Of these first castles we fortunately have contemporary descriptions. One source of the year 1130 describes an example at Merchem near Dixmude, which had been built many years before by the lord of the place itself (*a domino villæ ipsius*): "for it is the custom," the writer goes on, "among the rich and noble men of this region, who spend most of their time in private war, in order to protect themselves from their enemies, to heap up a mound (*aggerem*) of earth as high as they can and surround it with a wide ditch of great depth. The crest of this mound they surround in the manner of a wall with a strong, close stockade of squared timbers (*vallo ex ligneis tabulatis*) with as many towers as possible in its circuit. Within this stockade they build at its centre a house or citadel (*arcem*), which overlooks everything. In this way the entrance to the place can be reached only by a bridge, which, starting from the outer edge of the ditch, rises by degrees on posts set at equal distances two or three together. Thus at an easy slope it rises above the ditch till it reaches the surface of the mound, where it meets and rests upon a threshold." This sort of structure, we are told, may be called a *castrum* or *municipium*.[1] The word *municipium* is regularly used for a castle or a tower by the first Scottish historian, John de Fordun.

We might elaborate this account with extracts from various chronicles of the twelfth century: for example, the narrative of how Arnold, lord of Ardres, after concluding peace with a rival, "made a house of wood of wonderful carpenter work upon a dungeon (*dunjonem*), which surpassed in material the houses in the whole of Flanders at that time."[2] Dungeon is here the earlier term for the earthen hillock, which came to be better known by the popular word *motte* or *mote*: "dungeon" then attached itself to the building or tower on the hillock. The French *motte* was naturalised in Scots as *moitt* or *mote*, which is used in Gawain Douglas's *Æneid* to translate the latin *tumulus*. The mote then was a mound of earth or even of rock—the *mons castri* of the records—upon which was raised a tower of wood.

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[1] *Vita S. Joannis Morinorum Episcopi*, by Johannes de Collemedio (Jean de Colmieu), *Acta Sanctorum*, Bolland, II, p. 799.

[2] Walter de Clusa, *Historia Ardensium Dominorum*, cap. 127.

From these accounts alone we get a fairly sufficient conception of what an eleventh and twelfth century castle of this class was like. By a happy chance, however, we have the thing actually shown in outline to the eye in that unique set of historic pictures known as the Bayeux Tapestry, which is really the greatest piece of sewn or sampler work ever executed and which dates from the early years of the twelfth century. In the section showing the fighting against the men of Dinan we see the mound with its ditch, the rectangular stockade of squared timbers crowning its crest, the rectangular house within the stockade and the bridge or ladder rising from the outer face or counterscarp of the ditch to the "threshold" or platform on the summit of the mound. The bridge has an outer gateway at its lower extremity, which we shall learn to know as a *barbican*. The stockade or palisade is obviously of wood, since two of the besieging knights are trying to set it on fire. The woodwork shows a good deal of ornament and elaborate finish. We have to realise that these are no mere temporary or casual constructions, but the regular dwellings, albeit fortified, of the classes Jean de Colmieu speaks of, who thought themselves admirably suited in such quarters. At Rennes we see the same sort of thing with variations: no two castles, any more than any two mediaeval churches, were ever wholly alike. The bridge is apparently fitted with cross-pieces and rises to a lofty gateway: the stockade is battlemented, and the house or tower has a cupola roof. We get nearer home in the picture which tells how Duke William "ordered that a castle should be dug at Hastings Camp." The men are shown at work in the "digging," while the layered character of the mound expresses its artificial character. Only the stockade is in place. Here then is a *castellum* or castle in the making, the very structure regarding which the *Chronicle of Battle Abbey* says that the Duke after landing had the foresight quickly to erect in a suitable place a "wooden castle" (*ligneum castellum*).

In this case, then, we have the castle in use as an instrument of aggressive warfare, and indeed a contemporary historian informs us that it was just those "fortifications which the French call castles" that broke the back of English resistance to the Normans.[1] By their means the Normans established themselves in their penetration of the country. Eighty-four castles that can be attributed to the eleventh century have left traces in England, and of these seventy-one had or still have motes. Everything of wood has of course disappeared, though in the mote of Clifford's Tower at York oak slabs 5 inches thick, and dressed tree-trunks over 8 feet in length, have been discovered;[2] while at one of our own examples, the Bass of Inverurie, in Aberdeenshire, remains of an oaken bridge or gangway were unearthed on the south face.[3] But mounds and ditches have a longer life than their superstructures. And these survivals enable us to add another important feature. In most cases at the base of the mound was an enclosure, also ditched and palisaded, known as the *bailey*, so that the whole lay-out is known as the mote-and-bailey. There are examples, too, in England, with

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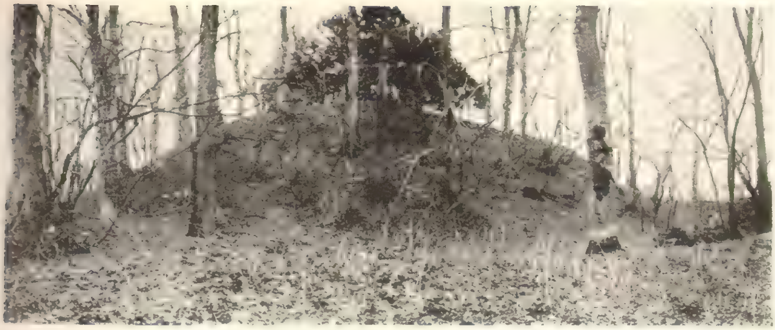
[1] Ordericus Vitalis, *Hist. Eccles.*, Pars. II, Lib. IV, cap. v.

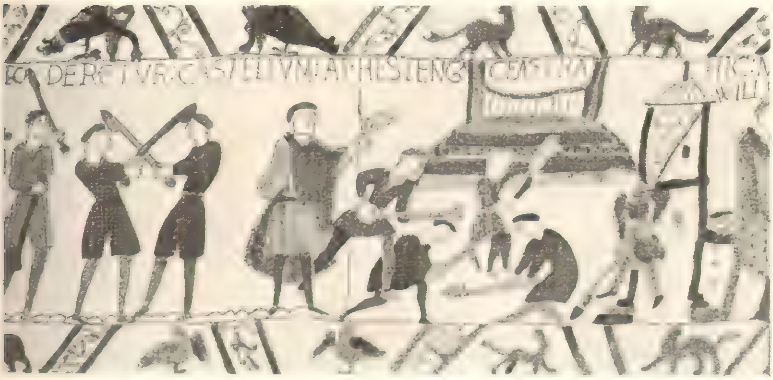
[2] *Yorkshire Philosophical Society*, Report, 1903.

[3] Davidson's *Bass of Inverurie*, p. 15.

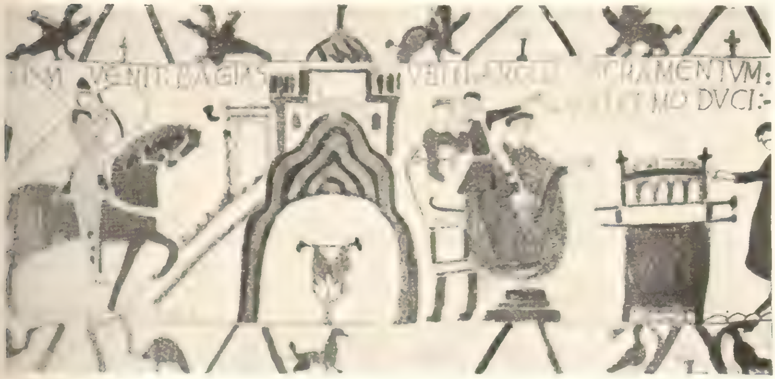
PLATE I



CASTLE LAW (p. 13)



CASTLE AT HASTINGS: BAYEUX TAPESTRY



CASTLE AT BAYEUX: BAYEUX TAPESTRY

a second mote, and some with two or even three baileys. Generally, they covered but a small area, the bailey in the eleventh century English examples ranging from ½ acre to 3 or 4 acres, while the whole area of mote and bailey may not exceed the latter dimensions. But within their stout defences a few determined men in their tunics of mail, with specialised weapons, who fought on horses when in the field, might well overawe the scattered population of a district no better equipped for warfare than the shire levies who came to Hastings in their working smocks, with a javelin or two or a club or an agricultural implement ; or than the Scots of King David's army at the Battle of the Standard, who are described as " naked " in contrast with the Norman contingent in their coats of mail.

We get a useful sidelight on the character of these castles from some episodes in the war of sieges which marked the anarchy of the reign of Stephen in England. At Faringdon in 1145 the younger men of Stephen's army scaled " the height of the sloping mound," to carry on the fight where " the palisade alone separated the parties."

I

We have now to follow the track of the castle into Scotland. The story of the introduction of Normans and Normanised English to that country is in outline familiar enough, though its accompaniments and results are perhaps not clearly appreciated. It may be true enough to say that there was no " Norman conquest " of Scotland in the sense applicable to England, in that there was no attack in force and no battle like Hastings. The intruders came by royal invitation and acquired their manors by royal grant or a convenient marriage. They had attractions for a royal line like that of Scotland still insecure in its seat, with a very loose hold at best over great stretches of territory in the north and west. In such circumstances the high military qualities of the most conquering people in Europe made a business-like appeal. Further the capable methods of Norman administration with its clerkly officials, the high standing of the Normans in the ecclesiastical world, and not least, as we shall see, the cover they could afford for the initiation of a commercial policy in a mainly pastoral country, appealed to the descendants of Queen Margaret with their inherited ideas of what a king and a kingdom should be.

David I, who in fourteen years of training at the English court had, as an English chronicler puts it, " rubbed off the rust of Scottish barbarism," and his grandsons Malcolm IV and William the Lion were the main agents in this Norman emigration to Scotland. It must be understood, too, that the feudal system was introduced to Scotland from England, so that it was Norman in character. But the special circumstances of the feudalisation of England had enabled the king as such to recover an effective amount of power and control. It was a monarchy maintaining itself on a feudal basis that the Scottish kings sought to imitate.

On the other hand, it would be inaccurate to imply that the intrusion was a wholly peaceful process. The well-known incident before the Battle of the Standard in 1138, when the " men of Alba " claimed the right to attack before the mail-clad Normans of David, shows the jealousy of the native nobility towards these new-comers. The feeling was widespread. Revolts in Galloway, then a much wider district than the two counties to which the name is now restricted, were epidemic, and if they were ultimately got under mainly by Norman assistance, they were also provoked by the planting among them of the aliens. For our purpose it is significant to note that immediately on the capture of William the Lion at Alnwick in 1174, and his imprisonment by the English king, the men of Galloway rose in revolt and destroyed the castles erected in their country, slaying all the French, that is Normans and English, on whom they could lay hands. The great number of mote-and-bailey castles still traceable in that quarter is a relic of such conditions. The case of Moray in the north is on the same footing. Revolts in favour of a northern dynasty broke on the mailed front of Norman knights and their followers, whom David could bring to his defence. Malcolm IV cleared part of Moray and placed there " his own personally devoted and peaceful people," we shall presently see how. William the Lion pushed his arms to the conquest of Ross and marked his limits in 1179 by the erection of the castles of Eddirdovar at the south end of the Black Isle and Dunscaith on the northern shore of the mouth of the Cromarty Firth, where on the grassy edge of the cliff the mouldering lines of King William's tiny castle can still just be traced. But in 1228, when Alexander II was king, the men of Moray were once more in revolt, and Walter Bower embellishes Fordun's account with the information that they burned certain wooden fortifications (*munitiones ligneas*) in Moray and slew a certain brigand (*latronem*) Thomas de Thirlestane, whose fort they captured by surprise at night. From his name he must have been a gentleman adventurer, from Lauderdale or Roxburghshire, where Thirlestane is still a place-name. Thereafter they burned a great part of Inverness,[1] when the royal castle already existing there must have sheltered the people of the burgh.

There was good reason for ill-will towards the newcomers and their castellated abominations standing where they should not. Galloway was always particularly sensitive about its ancient customs and laws: Moray no less, with its devotion to a rival royal line. They were faced with a revolutionary change, a new nobility, and a new social order; with political military power in place of tribal authority, land held under contract instead of by tribal custom, the charter instead of the pedigree, the feudal superior in place of the head of the kin.

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[1] *Gesta Annalia*, XLII; *Scotichron.*, Lib. IX, cap. xlvii.

II

We may now survey the ground for evidence of castles of this kind in Scotland, namely the surviving earthworks. An eminent Scottish historian "observed for its political significance, that there are no remains of Norman castles in Scotland."[1] On the contrary the political significance lies in the fact that they are numerous, particularly in certain districts. The failure to recognise their presence was due to ignorance of their character. Early writers thought of a Norman castle in Scotland as something like the stone Tower of London or Colchester. They could not see one in what a charter of 1569 describes as "*lie Moitt* of Crail, formerly called the castle (*castrum*) of Crail." It is an earthwork of this nature for which we have to look. What we must expect in the majority of cases is the mound or *mote,* partly or very greatly reduced in dimensions, with its ditch and its accompanying *bailey* or lower enclosure. As an example of a well-defined mound there is the Mote of Hawick, which is 28 feet 7 inches at its highest with a diameter on the summit of 41 feet. The barony of Hawick was reported in 1347 to have belonged to the family of Lovel from time out of mind and to be held of the king as of the castle of Roxburgh.[1] Another is the Bass of Inverurie, Aberdeenshire, with its elevated bailey now known as the Little Bass and used as a graveyard. The long surviving name Castle Hill and that of Castle Yards

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[1] Hill Burton, II, p. 98.

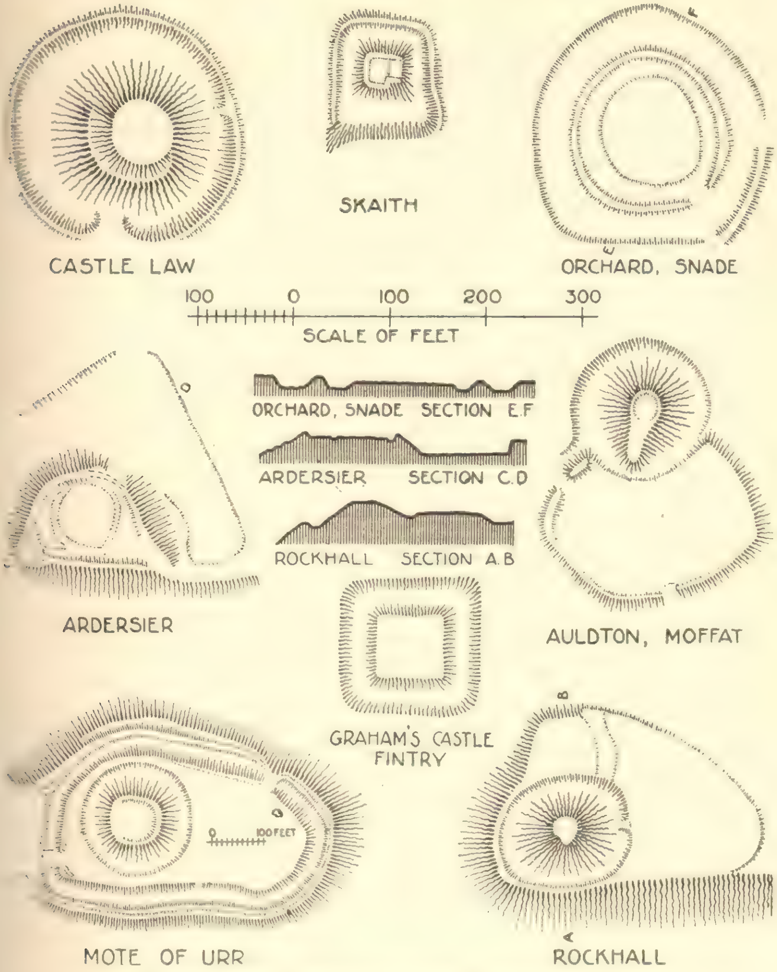

Fig. 1.—Mote and Mote-and-Bailey Plans

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[1] Bain's *Calendar*, III, No. 1506; cf. *R.M.S.* (1315-21), No. 24.

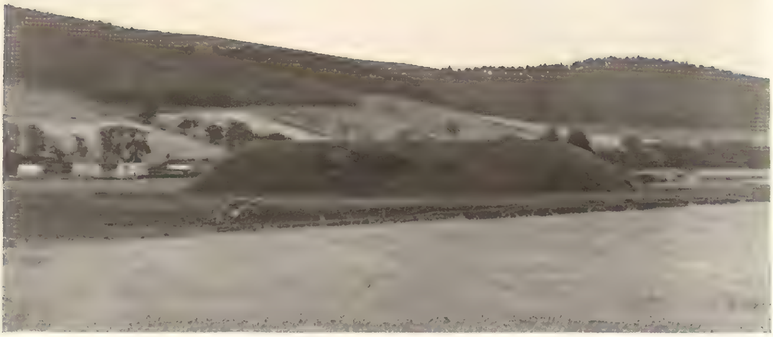
for its ancient garden[1] bear witness to its original character. The Bass is the core of a royal fortress—its constables being the begetters of the family of Leslie, who in the thirteenth century adopted that name from their lordship in the Garioch. In a charter of 1513 it is described as *lie fortrie de Inverury*. It is artificial, however, only in the sense that it has been shaped from a natural spur of high ground. After a trimming of forty years ago it still shows a height of 50 feet with a summit diameter of about 60 feet. Of a rather different type is the "Doune of Invernochty" in Braemar, amid a cup of hills at the head waters of the Don. In the constitution of the barony of Invernochty in 1507 the principal place (*capitale messuagium*) is fixed "at the ancient manor-place of Invernochty." The oval mound is about 60 to 65 feet high, and the area on its summit measures 247 by 127 feet, or nearly three-quarters of an acre. The width of the ditch averages about 25 feet, but its depth varies considerably with the lie of the ground. The summit of the mound has been crowned with a stone wall 6 feet thick, and the irregular surface within suggests the presence of structural foundations. A unique feature at Invernochty is the provision made for filling the ditch with water by damming part of the marshy ground to the north so as to form a lake and bringing the water through a gap in the outer rampart.[2]

Such earthworks were a puzzle to antiquaries till, about thirty years ago, the first steps were taken towards their explanation How many still exist in Scotland cannot be said till a complete survey has been made. That work is little more than begun. Counties in which excellent examples occur, like Ayr, Lanark,

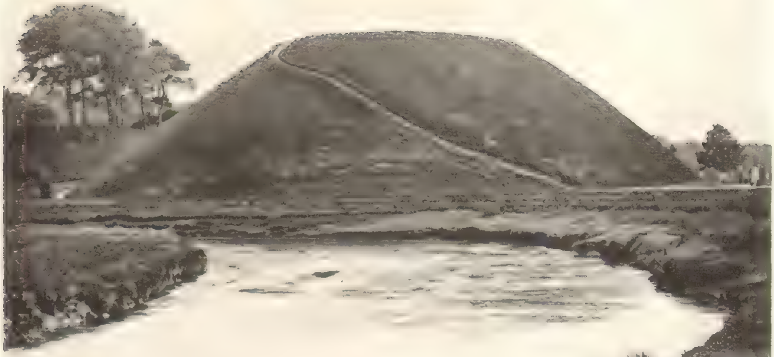
---

[1] 1520, *cum orto castri vulgariter vocato le Castellyarde circa montem castri de Enneroury* (*Exch. Rolls*, XIV, p. 629).

[2] Cf. *Proc. Soc. Ant. Scot.*, Vol. LIII (1918-19), pp. 34 ff.



DOUNE OF INVERNOCHTY



BASS OF INVERURIE

and Aberdeen, have not been touched. Three can be identified in Sutherlandshire at Skibo, Skelbo, and Proncy. Others are responsible for such names as the Castlehill at Banff and Forres, and Ladyhill at Elgin, where the dedication of the castle chapel to the Virgin [1] —a Norman predilection—has survived. Significant names, which can mean little to modern eyes, still carry on the ancient tradition, "castle-stead," "the auld castell," etc. Many have certainly disappeared, some within comparatively recent times. Dingwall had its historic castle mound removed about a century ago. None is now to be found in East Lothian, though the Mote of Gladsmuir was still a landmark in the sixteenth century.[2] Others again may have had to make way for later stone buildings. There is but one example in Berwickshire at Castle Law, near Coldstream, secluded, like many others, in a grove of trees.

But in Galloway and Dumfriesshire, where we have the results of careful investigation, the number still traceable is surprisingly great. In the three counties at least fifty-nine examples have definitely been recognised. Of special interest are the three in the valley of the Annan connected with the Bruces. At Annan we have the *Moitt et Bailyie* so described in a charter of 1582,[3] now part of a private garden, which may explain the curiously thinned and elongated character of the mote itself; a sixteenth century view shows

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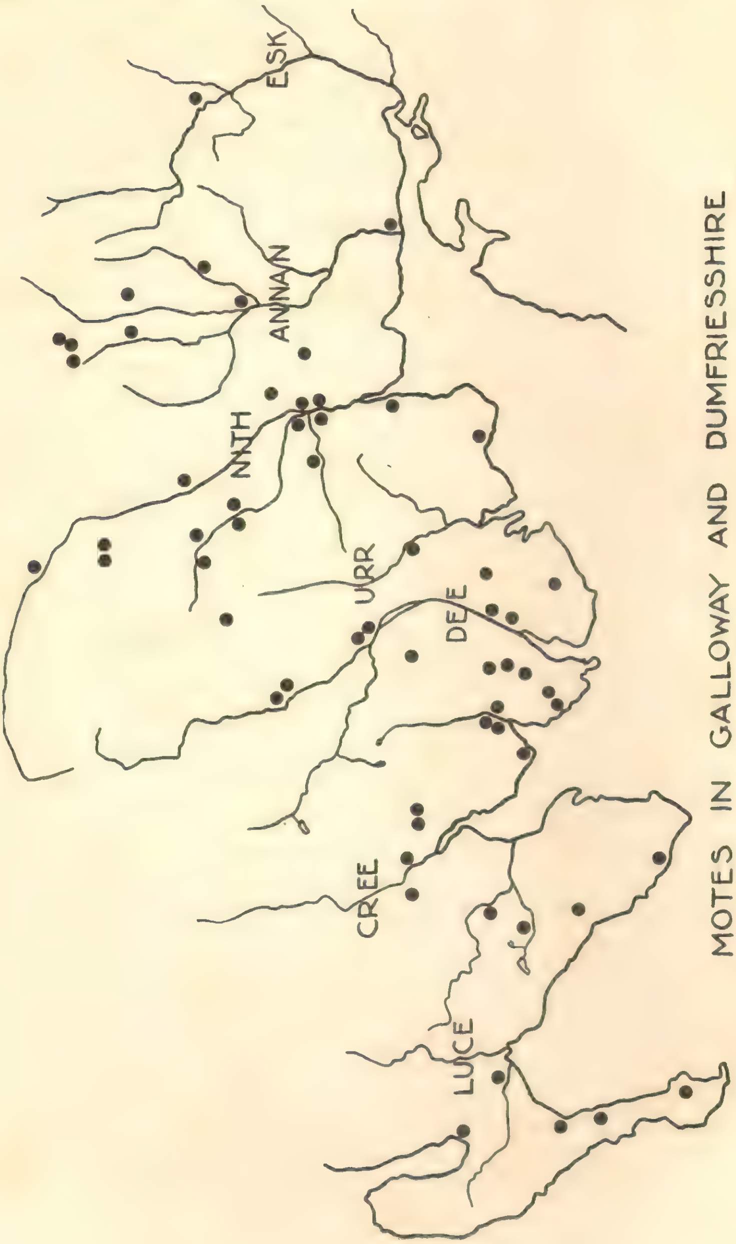
[1] Cf. a presentation to the chapel of the "Blessed Virgin Mary de le Castelhill" of Elgin (*Reg. Sec. Sig.*, I, No. 1328); chapel of St. Mary of "Casteldikes," Dumfries (see p. 15); chapel to Blessed Virgin Mary on Ormond Hill (p. 30) (*ibid.*, II, No. 1748).

[2] The *mons castri vocatus Tarbet* on the Island of Fidra bears at least the designation frequently applied to this type (cf. *Inventory of Ancient Monuments in East Lothian*, p. xli). The upper part of the rock of Edinburgh is also referred to in the fourteenth century as a *mota*.

[3] *R.M.S.* (s.a.), No. 459.



MOTES IN GALLOWAY AND DUMFRIESSHIRE

FIG. 2

it more robust in character. This may well have been the *castellum* which the first Robert de Brus was understood to erect by the original charter of Annandale. At Lochmaben there is a massive mound with ditches. The close or enclosure of Lochmaben Castle was surrounded by a palisade, and there was a great tower within, upon which in the autumn of 1299 the head of the Constable of Caerlaverock was fixed by the English commander in Lochmaben.[1] Moffat supplies an example more conventional in character, with a bailey roughly ear-shaped, which is common where the work is not determined by the configuration of the ground. At Dumfries there were three motes, but that representing the old royal castle of Dumfries has had its features so worked into a modern garden as to be obscured. It is still known as Castledykes, that is Castle-ditches, and stands on Kingsholm. On the opposite side of the river is the Mote of Troqueer. At Troqueer (*apud Trequeris*) "the good" Lord James of Douglas, by the charter of 1325, had to present a pair of gilt spurs at Christmas as reddendo for the new barony of Buittle.[2] But the most extensive set of earthworks of this character is that known as the Mote of Urr above Castle-Douglas, very probably a case, to which there are parallels, where more ancient lines of rampart and ditch have been utilised. Covering an area of 5½ acres over all it is unique in point of extent. It was undoubtedly the head of the old barony of Urr, one-half of which went to Thomas Randolph, Earl of Moray, by gift of his uncle King Robert I.

But these relics as a whole vary much in dimensions, though in many cases they are not complete. The mound at its highest generally rises to from 20 to 50 feet, the latter being the case of Annan, but will show a good deal less on the side of the bailey, when, as in so many examples, both have been shaped out of an already high-lying natural hillock. The total area defined by the ditch runs generally to about an acre, is sometimes less and occasionally rather more. Thus they were as a rule in Scotland even smaller constructions than those in England, where the dimensions of by far the greater number over mound, bailey, and ditches, reach 3 acres, and in many cases an acre and a half at least. On the mote or mound was the "house" or tower within its palisade, which French writers call a *chemise*, to distinguish a wall round a single tower. In the bailey were other wooden structures to serve as chapel, stable, barn, and such like, but of these we cannot speak with certainty. The palisade round the bailey was the same sort of thing as at the burgh of Inverness in the late twelfth century where it was called a *palitium*: we shall recognise it presently in the shortened and naturalised form "peel." The palisades were raised upon earthen ramparts, which in many cases are still in evidence.

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[1] Bain, II, No. 1101, and p. 535.

[2] *R.M.S.*, I, App. I, 37. In the Register of the Great Seal this Troqueer is indexed as identical with Traquair in Peeblesshire, which is very much out of the way. Archibald Douglas, Lord of Galloway, in 1372, gave Crossmichael and "Trequere" to Holywood monastery.

The military value of the smaller places cannot have been very great, and probably some proportion of them must have been mere outposts or even hunting-lodges. Anyhow they were for family accommodation not for garrisons, though, if necessary, serving as a refuge for followers in a little settlement or "ton" nearby: whence such a name as "Castleton." They are often in lonely places. Fintry Castle or "Graham's Castle" was constructed on the summit of a commanding elongated hillock in the heart of the hills three and a half miles east of Fintry village. The mound is about 73 feet square with rounded corners and rises about 10 feet above the level of the ditch which averages a width of 16 feet. There is no evidence of a ditch to enclose a bailey, but there have been late buildings of stone on the lines which a bailey might have followed. Hutton Mote stands amid bare land over 700 feet above sea-level between the upper Annan and the Kale Water ; but one Welsh mote is 1250 feet above sea-level. Garpol Mote, near Moffat, may have watched a cross-country track : what seems to be an earlier fortified enclosure stands beside it. Dunscaith levied the tolls of the ferry on the Cromarty Firth : a bit of land and the ferry (*passagium*) provided its revenues, which were in the fifteenth century used to endow a prebend in the Collegiate Church at Tain. Nor were all the motes of alien occupation. The native landholders, who accepted circumstances, followed the Norman fashion, as they did in Wales. Ingleston Mote in Dumfriesshire belonged to a family of Edgars, who were of the native stock of Dunegal of Strathnith but were Normanised. On the other hand, Tinwald Mote, now reduced to a mere cap of earth nourishing a few trees, marks the early home of the local Mandevilles, later known as Mundells ; the founder of the family performed for William the Lion the service of marrying his illegitimate daughter. In the fifteenth century it was still the legal head of the barony, where sasine of the lands was given by the ceremony of handing to the grantee, before witnesses, a handful of earth and stone from the " head messuage called the Mote near the church of Tynwald." [1]

Not all of these castles were of the standard mote-and-bailey type. There are cases in which only the mound is present. In some of these all traces of the bailey may have disappeared, but there are others in which there is no reason to believe there ever was a further enclosure. The mote of Boreland in the Stewartry of Kirkcudbright is one of the latter class. Another is the mote at Skaith in the parish of Penninghame, Wigtownshire. This shows a departure also in being nearly square in shape instead of the more ordinary conical hillock. The base measures 60 feet a side, and the summit 40 by 32 feet, while the mound has now a height of 8 feet 6 inches to 10 feet 9 inches above the bottom of a ditch 22 to 50 feet wide. At Green Tower Mote, Anwoth, also in the Stewartry, both mound and bailey are rectangular. A small solitary mound was probably the site of a timber tower only. Some of this class show a mound of but slight elevation within a ditch and rampart; these may be described as "saucer-motes." At Ardersier, on the Nairnshire side of Chanonry Ferry, an earthwork of this kind, known as Cromall (popularly diverted to Cromwell's) Mount, occupies a site on the cliff formed by a raised beach, where it is isolated partly by the configuration of the ground and partly by an enormous trench, apparently in part at least artificial. The shallow mound has a diameter of 60 feet. At the Orchard, Snade, Dumfriesshire, a similar example on the marshy level is surrounded by two ditches, while the central plateau measures 103 by 116 feet in diameter. Snade was of old the head of a barony of that name.

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[1] *Book of Caerlaverock*, II, p. 434.

Certain mounds, however, are of dimensions which take them out of the general mote class and make them rank in extent rather with the bailey. They generally have a summit of about an acre in extent. A few are definitely known to be survivals of the Peels or Peles constructed to the orders of Edward I. In the winter of 1298-99 such an enclosure "strengthened with a palisade" was constructed at Lochmaben outside the already existing castle of the Bruces: men had been sent to saw wood for the making of this peel[1] and carpenters for its construction. There were houses within, and the "peel" and castle (*castrum*) are spoken of as separate structures.[2] Another case is the peel at Selkirk, for the making of which the timber of the bridges made by Edward I for crossing the Forth was to be used, but the gateway was to be of stone. It had a tower, the postern gate of which was to be "faced with stone;" obviously the tower itself was of wood. There was "a drawbridge and portcullis with a good bretasche above," the bretasche being an overhanging bit of timber balcony (cf. p. 86), of which Edward's peel at Linlithgow had at least six.[3] The peel or palisade at Selkirk was 57 perches or about 314 yards in circumference and abutted on each side of the tower: the Peillhill, as it is still called, answers to these dimensions.

Further details may be gleaned from the information regarding the peel at Jedburgh. It had a "great tower" and a "little tower," and to give cover to those passing between them an inner peel was erected. Within the main peel was a stable as well as a penthouse (*pentiz*) "under the pele" for ten horses. A bakehouse is mentioned.

The picture of a peel which is thus outlined does not substantially differ from that of a timber castle of the time, save that it had no mote as the basis of a great tower. Clearly, too, a peel was originally and strictly a palisade or stockade and a carpenter's job, the word being Old French *pel* deriving ultimately from Latin *palus*, a stake. There might thus, as at Jedburgh, be a stockade within the enclosing stockade. From this specific use the term could be transferred to the structure as a whole, whence the Peel of Selkirk, of Linlithgow, etc. But there would seem to have been a further late application of the name. The wooden structures disappeared in time, leaving but the huge mound with its ditch, yet the old name adhered to the site, as in the Peelhill of Selkirk. Later buildings in stone might arise, yet the Peel of Linlithgow might continue to mark the site of the palace. But in the Peel of Fichlie, Aberdeenshire, we have a mound and ditch where there is no evidence that a structure called a peel ever existed. It would seem to have received the name from its resemblance to peel sites known as such elsewhere, just as in a Gaelic region the similar earthwork at Invernochty came to be called a Doune (Dun). And what was long known as the Peel of Kirkintilloch is clearly the earthworks, mote, and bailey of a regular castle ; and a castle it was always styled in fourteenth century records. Nevertheless the distinction between the two types of structure was not fundamental. A particular use of the word with respect to stone towers will be dealt with at a later stage.

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[1] Stevenson, *Historic Docts.*, II, 361.

[2] Bain, II, No. 1525.

[3] *Ibid.*, II, No. 1324.

One special variation may be noted, the full significance of which will be determined later (see p. 159). This was of the kind suggested by such a name as Palace Yard for a long oval mound with a ditch, near Enrick in the Stewartry of Kirkcudbright. In this case, as no doubt in others, the principal building was evidently not a tower but an oblong Hall. (Cf. the case of Oakham on p. 37, n. 2.)

It is natural to assume that in the planting of these fortified structures a strategic principle was observed. This is usually expressed in the form of commanding some route. It is hard, however, to discern anything of the kind on a map of the mote castles in Galloway ; these occur just where settlements have always been made, along the coast margin and the dales. More suggestive is the line of positions on the great mediaeval route through Mar and Buchan into Moray and Ross. Ignoring the baronial castles we find a chain of twelfth and thirteenth century royal castles strung along this route. Again, however, the explanation may be not at all of the kind assumed. This is geographically a very old avenue of approach to the north and west country. On it there must always have been clusters of population at the more attractive and convenient places. It would be in keeping with all we know that the castle should be raised where these groups occurred with an eye to dominating the local population and not the highway. No doubt this came to the same thing in practice, but then the folk of such districts were not likely to be tied to the easier roads, and it was more in accordance with mediaeval ideas to plant one's castle by an already occupied site rather than on one recommended only by what we would consider its strategical value.

III

From this point we must widen the scope of our survey to envisage the castle as an institution. Hitherto we have been occupied with its military origin and character. The feudal system rested ultimately on two things —land ownership and military service in return. Part of that military obligation might take the form of garrisoning a royal castle when necessary. Berowald the Fleming received the lands of Innes in 1160 under the liability to furnish one knight to serve in the castle of Elgin. In 1266 the burgesses of Ayr refused to garrison the royal castle under the threat of Haco's invasion, which delinquency on their part was reported by the sheriff, who had to hire soldiers.[1] This obligation was known as "castleward," which in later times, as appears from the records, took the form of a money payment as one of the ordinary sources of royal revenue.

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[1] If he could prove that they had refused, the expense was to be recovered from the burgesses, otherwise the Earl of Mentieth, then sheriff, would have to meet it himself (*Exch. Rolls*, I, p. 6).

But this does not exhaust the feudal relationships of the castle. Incidentally the connection of the sheriff with the royal castle has cropped up. And the sheriff, like the castle, was new. He was the king's deputy in those parts. A well-organised feudal state like the county of Flanders was divided into *castellanies*, each radiating from a castle. Normandy, in the same way, was apportioned into viscounties based upon the ducal castles committed to the care of viscounts or *vicecomites*. The Norman kings of England identified their *vicecomes* with the old English shire-reeve or sheriff. But as introduced into Scotland in the twelfth century sheriff was at first a general name signifying one holding a delegated authority. A local magnate might have a sheriff, as the first St. Clair in Herdmanston, East Lothian, was sheriff to Hugh de Moreville. Similarly shire began as a term for a territorial division in general, as in Crail-shire, Kirkcaldy-shire, Coldingham-shire, etc., and even Herbertshire, where the first part is a personal name. In time the royal sheriff and shire were to monopolise these designations. The king's sheriff was his military agent and collector of the royal revenues within his sheriffdom and was responsible for the letting of the royal lands. In virtue of his office he also had the power to hold courts, and this part of his functions in Scotland in time overshadowed the others. But in all its aspects the office rooted in the royal castle, of which he was constable or keeper. The *prepositura castri* of Forres (1266) and the *prepositura de Elgyn* (1337)[1] were the sheriffships of the castle, and a later specification of the lands of the sheriffdom of "the old castle of Inverness,"[1] expresses even more fully the dependence of the office of sheriff and the territorial unit of the sheriffdom or shire upon the institution of the castle. In the English accounts for Scotland in 1329 we have payments for the ward of "the castle of the sheriffdom of Stirling," of "the castle of the sheriffdom of Dumfries," etc.[2] Each sheriffdom as such had thus its castle, which was thereby sufficiently specified. The fact that so many of our shires derive their name from the principal town, in which town was the royal castle with the sheriff as keeper, is another corollary from the same relationship.

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[1] *Exch. Rolls*, I, 15, 443.

To comprehend the origin and limits of such shires we have to think of a relationship to the royal castle rather than primarily of a geographical area. It is obvious, even from a modern map, that shire boundaries are in part at least arbitrary and so represent the boundaries of landed estates. There was no geographical survey or map; a shire could be expressed only in terms of the baronies within it. The sheriffdom of a particular castle would include all feudal holdings that owed suit of court or attendance at the courts of the sheriff or the king's justiciar in that part and place. The limits of these holdings would then form the limits of the shire. This explains many of the old detached portions of shires within other shires. Thus when, in the time of Robert Bruce, a grant was made of certain lands in Roxburghshire involving suit of court at Selkirk, these lands were transferred from the sheriffdom of Roxburgh to that of Selkirk. And because in the same reign the barony of Kirkintilloch was granted with the obligation of suit at the sheriff's court at Dumbarton, that district remained down to modern times detached as a fragment of Dumbartonshire within the bounds of the shire of Lanark. This seems to be the line we must follow in accounting for the original delimitation of shires. The particular royal castle is the key position. The shire of Elgin, with its royal castles and sheriffs at Elgin and Forres, was long known by the twin name as the shire of Elgin and Forres. And when Robert the Bruce built his castle at Tarbert, there comes into existence the shire of Tarbert covering southern Argyll, which shire existed till its absorption in the sheriffdom of Argyll in 1631.

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[1] *Exch. Rolls*, 1458, 1459.

[2] Bain's *Calendar*, III, p. 315.

And contemporaneously with the royal castle appears also the royal burgh of Tarbert. The sequence here is obvious. But the close relationship of the original royal burghs with the royal castle is beyond doubt. The cases of burghs belonging to a bishop, like Glasgow and St. Andrews, or to a religious institution, as the Canongate did to Holyrood Abbey, must be excepted : these, however, were founded by royal permit and had the prestige and power of the Church behind them. The point relative to our enquiry is that the burgh as such was a new institution normally formed under the protection of the royal castle and like it a fortified place. It had its root in the monopoly of a market, where all buying and selling within a definite area had to be done. This combination of a market with a fortified place is of the same kind as that of a residence with a fortress. The account authoritatively favoured is to the effect that the founding of a burgh meant no more than the formal recognition of an already existing community doing all that a burgh was supposed to do. It was simply a case of adult baptism not of a new birth. But the evidence at our disposal goes right in the teeth of this theory of continuity. Jocelin, Bishop of Glasgow (1179-99) granted to the Abbey of

Melrose "that house (*toftum*)[1] which Ranulph of Haddington built in the first building (*edificacione*) of the burgh." Undoubtedly there was an ancient community—a scattered township of primitive type—at Glasgow from the earliest times. Nevertheless the burgh as such had an independent beginning in its "first erection," and an East Lothian man not, as his name betrays, of native blood, was one of the first burgesses. Mainard, a Fleming, was provost of St. Andrews and had special privileges because he was among the first to build (*aedificare*) and equip (*instaurare*) that burgh. The terms used in such cases must be taken more literally than is authoritatively done and not as merely metaphorical expressions.[2] A burgh was "made" (*factus*) or "erected" (*aedificatus*) in actual fact. William the Lion by exchange with the Bishop of Moray secured land on which to fortify a castle and burgh in Nairn.[3] What was intended in such cases we can see from the charter by the same king to the burgh of Inverness, in which it is contracted that the king on his part was to make an earthen rampart (*fossatum*)[4] around the burgh, which the burgesses were to crown with a palisade and keep in good repair. The contemporary Flemish historian, Jean le Bel, tells us that in 1333 Edward III of England wasted the country between Edinburgh and Aberdeen and "took the largest towns, which were enclosed with good ditches and good palisades" (*fermées de bons fossez et de bons palis*). These were the burghs. Some French towns like Dinant were still fortified in the same fashion. The royal castle was an additional protection, as we shall see presently. Indeed the Burgh Laws make provision as a matter of course for possible disputes between the occupants of the castle and the people of the burgh, as if the association of the two groups was something of a rule. The same connection is implied in the statement of Fordun that Edward I, when he assumed control of Scotland, changed none of the officials "except the keepers of the castles of the head burghs." It is this relationship that accounts for the line of ancient royal burghs that passes upward through Aberdeenshire—Aberdeen itself, Kintore, Inverurie—to Banff and Cullen and thence through Moray in Elgin, Forres, Nairn, to Inverness, Cromarty, and Dingwall: all these places being the sites of twelfth or thirteenth century royal castles. The Innes charter of 1160 informs us that "along with his fief" Berowald the Fleming had a full toft or building allotment in the king's burgh of Elgin. The earliest personal names on record in connection with these burghs are foreign names.

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[1] *Toftum* is normally a building site.

[2] *Instaurare* in the St. Andrews case has been translated as "renew," the classical meaning of the word, and the inference drawn that it points to "an already existing town." But the mediaeval meaning is "furnish" or "equip," probably in this case to equip the rampart with a palisade as in the arrangement about Inverness.

[3] *ad firmandum in ea castellum et burgum in Invernaren* (*Reg. Morav.*, No. 25).

[4] For *fossatum* in the sense of rampart, cf. the case of Linlithgow, where in January, 1304, we have an account of the repair of the "palisade (*peli*) and rampart (*fossati*) broken by a tempest." Six men were employed for six days in carrying sand (*arenam*) for the repair of the rampart (*ad . . . fossatum emendandum*) (Bain's *Calendar*, IV, p. 459).

The presence of Flemings among the burgh colonists introduces us to an element in the new population, the importance of which is not adequately appreciated. Flemings were conspicuous among the adventurers of the twelfth century, whether military or commercial. They were in Aberdeenshire in the reign of David I; numerous enough, indeed, to have their own usages of law.[1] They have left their mark also in the west. In

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[1] See *Collections on the Shires of Aberdeen and Banff* (Spalding Club), pp. 547, 548.

Lanarkshire the mote at Biggar marks a grant of land to Baldwin the Fleming, another at Covington ("Colbanstown") the land of Colban the Fleming, while the fine mote at Roberton ("Robertstona") preserves the name of Robert, "brother of Lambin," apparently also a Fleming. Thus not all mote-castles are Norman nor is it of Normans alone, even with their English followers, that we must take account in the feudalisation of Scotland. Generally the Flemings were included in the term English apparently because in the main they seem to have come to Scotland from England, from which country they were expelled by Henry II as encroachers upon English trade. Flemings are conspicuous in the army of William the Lion at Alnwick, as Jordan de Fantosme tells the story, while for the chronicler William of Newburgh the same contingent is just English.

It is this commercial side of Flemish enterprise that must now be emphasised in order to broaden the basis for our consideration of the earliest castles. The kings of the stock of Malcolm Canmore and Margaret were men with big ideas. What they did for the reconstitution of the Church in Scotland is outwith our survey. But no less fundamental is their inauguration of civic and commercial life, and to this end the institution of the castle was as serviceable as it was for a purely military achievement. The period from the ninth to the twelfth century saw the revival of industrial communities and trading conditions in western Europe, a process encouraged by kings and nobles not slow to discern its material advantages or to profit thereby. These Scottish kings included this element in their general policy. Of David I it was said that he adorned Scotland with "castles and towns" and enriched it with foreigners and merchants.[1] And a contemporary

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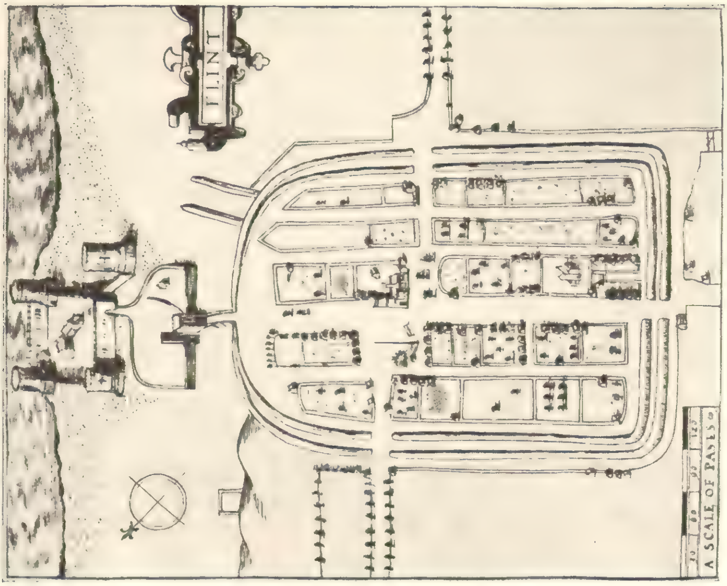
[1] Fordun, *Skene*, Lib. V, cap. xliii and p. 436.

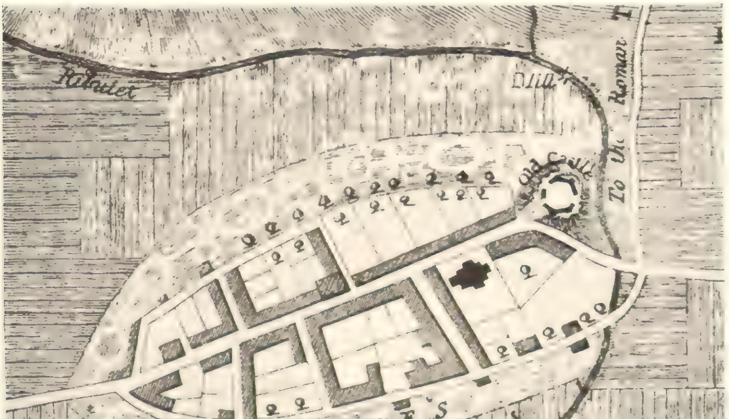
English historian, William de Newburgh, can inform us that " the towns and burghs of the Scottish realm are known to be inhabited by English," a term, as we have seen, signifying, at least for a good part, Flemings.

These Scottish kings, indeed, anticipate the policy followed out by Edward I in his conquest of Wales, when to the royal castles were added trading burghs, in which no Welshman was allowed to settle. A seventeenth century plan of Flint shows the relation between these foundations, and an even later one of Forres illustrates the similarity of origin. The notorious clearances in Moray by Malcolm IV to make room for " his own peaceful settlers " were no doubt the appropriation of land for castles and burghs, just as we read in Domesday Book of English land " cleared for castles " (*vastata in castellis*). The Gael was no merchant. A curious survival of this process comes from what was the ancient royal burgh of Cromarty. In its charters of a late date the market established there is styled St. Norman's market. But there never was a saint called Norman. The strange sanctity simply embalms the fact that the market was instituted under the Norman sheriff of the royal castle, and that, in days when every market was distinguished with a patron saint, the descriptive name was canonised. But these aliens were not any the more loved because they brought business methods in the train of the new order. How necessary protection was may be gathered from what happened after the capture of King William at Alnwick. The native Scots, who had been restrained only by fear of the king, now, as the army broke up in confusion, set about slaying all the English in their own ranks on whom they could lay hands, while those who were able to escape, we are told, took refuge in the

PLATE III



PLAN OF FLINT (A.D. 1610)



PLAN OF FORRES (A.D. 1798)

royal castles.[1] Or, as the Scottish historian puts it, the Scots and Galwegians, when their king was captured, made constant attacks upon their French and English neighbours and slew them without mercy.[2]

The nationality of the new settlers is still enshrined in Scottish topography. " Ingliston " or English-town is a word that serves as a finger-post for a probable mote-castle. There is an Ingliston Mote in Dumfriesshire, and there are two of the same name in the Stewartry. At the obscure village of Essie in Forfarshire we have the word in a more extended form in an early charter as "Engliscastletoun," alternatively "Inglistoun" ; and the castle mote-hill still survives. Near Beauly, where was the *mons castri* or mote " commonly called Beaufort," is an Ingleston, and in the old barony of Petty, between Inverness and Nairn, there is an estate known in the early *Exchequer Rolls* and still as Flemington. These minor settlements are to be distinguished from the burghs: they represent only a community in dependence upon the castle.

Another name connected with those early castles is Bordland or Borland (also Borlum, Bowland), the *terra mensalis* or " table " land that specifically furnished food for the castle table.

There is yet another function of the castle which must not be overlooked. It has been already alluded to in the case of Tinwald Mote as the place at which seisin or possession of the barony was ceremonially taken. Similarly seisin of the barony of Hawick, on its incorporation in 1511, was to be given at the Mote of Hawick. Even after all these centuries its significance held good. In mediaeval law it was this actual ceremony that mattered : the written charter began as merely a record of such a transaction. Each earldom or barony therefore required a *capitale messuagium* or principal residence [1] at which a legal process could be formally transacted. A castle was the obvious place. A rebel Earl of Ross would be formally summoned at the Castle of Dingwall. Moreover, before 1587 honours in Scotland were territorial not personal : lands were erected into an earldom or a barony, and the title of honour was then reflected upon the possessor of such lands. Thus honour as well as possession could concentrate upon the castle. Seisin of the earldom of Buchan was given on the Mote of Ellon (*super montem de Ellane*), which has now disappeared. When little else of the extensive property remained, the family clung to their ancestral mound as carrying the dignity of the earldom. It was known as the Earlshill. In 1488 James, Duke of Ross, brother of King James IV, resigned the lands of the dukedom on becoming Archbishop of St. Andrews but retained the Mote of Dingwall (*montem de Dingwall*) to warrant the title of Duke of Ross, the Mote of Ormond, above Munlochy Bay in the Black Isle, for the style of Marquis of Ormond ; Redcastle, the Eddirdovar of William the Lion, for the dignity of earl and the Castle of Brechin for the lordship of that ilk.

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[1] *Munitiones regis.* William of Newburgh, *Historia Rerum Anglicarum*, Cap. XXXIV.

[2] Fordun, *Gesta Annalia*, XI.

These adjuncts of the castle have been briefly noted to show how historically it was not a place of one dimension, a merely military interloper. It was an institution closely worked into the political, legal, and commercial life of the nation.

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[1] Known in Scotland as a *chemys* (O. French, *chefmez* = Lat. *caput mansi*, i.e. head house) : *principale messuagium quod le chemis Scotice dicitur* (*R.M.S.*, 1511, No. 3664).

IV

That these castles of the earliest type were timber structures upon earthworks has been made clear. It is necessary, however, to realise how long such buildings continued in use. Allusions to wooden habitations and defences will be noted hereafter at a much later time. In England, too, the wooden house in the castle persists for a considerable time. Till 1345 the buildings on the great Mote of Durham were of wood, though the surrounding wall was of stone. In the reign of Edward I we hear of the wooden tower at Shrewsbury being blown down in a gale. There is nothing surprising then in the inference that down to the War of Independence most of the Scottish gentry were housed in castles of timber, and a steadily decreasing number of them through more than a century thereafter. The Bruces never had any dwellings in Annandale but the timber mote and bailey structures at Annan, Lochmaben, and Moffat: Turnberry Castle came to them with the Earldom of Carrick and the stone construction at Lochmaben was not erected by the Bruces. Nor of the great families of De Moreville and De Quincey have we any relic of a house in stone. Till 1430 when the great stone tower was erected at Borthwick there can have been nothing but the buildings on the mote then known as Lochorwart. At Huntly Castle, Strathbogie, the mote and bailey residences must have lasted till the raising of the first stone house in the middle of the fifteenth century. The licence to William Urquhart, the sheriff, to erect a tower on the mote-hill of Cromarty is of 1470. In all these cases there is no reason to doubt that up to the date given the residences in use were substantially of timber, with whatever plastering was necessary to keep out wind and weather; to such plastering or daubing with clay, we frequently find allusion in cases on record.

In view of this prevalent use of timber for building, it is perhaps necessary to keep in mind that Scotland was not yet the comparatively treeless country of later times. Other buildings than castles were still being erected in wood. In 1304 Edward I granted to the Bishop of Glasgow fifty oaks from the royal forests of Selkirk and Mauldslie, Lanarkshire, to make a hall and a chamber of " recette " at Carstairs ; and in the same year a canon of Elgin had twenty oaks from a neighbouring forest "to build his church of Duffus."[1]

Clay as a daubing or even as a structural material also has a long history. At the end of the eighteenth century country cottages were being built of " clay or brick-earths " mixed with straw, as described in the case of the parish of Dornock, Dumfriesshire.[2] With neighbourly assistance the walls of such a dwelling could be run up in a few hours. Town houses, too, could be built of the same material, as in the town of Tain in 1789, where only the corners, windows, doors, etc., were finished in hewn stone.[3] Such erections explain Bishop Leslie's mysterious reference in the late sixteenth century to border " pailes " built of earth, i.e. clay alone (*ex sola terra*). These were *pyramidales turres,* that is square towers,[4] and the advantage in building them of clay, we are told, lay in the fact that they could not be burnt. The passage has hitherto been treated as an enigma, through failure to recognise that the buildings in question were substantially of clay.

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[1] In the same year the Bishop of Aberdeen was getting forty oaks from the forest of Drum, ten miles up Deeside, thirty oaks from the forest of Kintore, and thirty from the forest of Buchan (Bain's *Calendar*, II, Nos. 1506, 1626, 1629).

[2] *Stat. Acct.*, Vol. II, p. 22.

[3] McGill's *Old Ross-shire*, p. 196.

[4] Dalrymple (1596) translates *pyramidales* as " four nuked " or cornered.

And Leslie's reference is general; such places were numerous. What a tower of this material was like is perhaps shown in the accompanying illustration (Fig. 3). The existence of such structures further explains the description of "a strong pele" belonging to William Armstrong of Kinmont in 1518, which "couth not be brynt ne distroyed unto it was cut down with axes." [1] If it had been of timber, like so many enclosures of its class, it could have been burned, as these were (cf. p. 197):

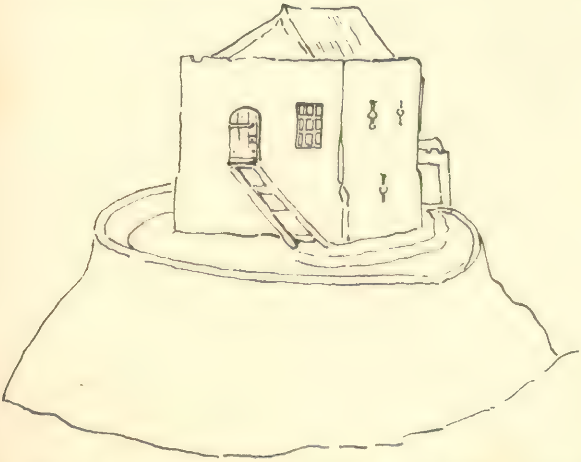

FIG. 3.—CASTLE MILK, DUMFRIESSHIRE, from the "Plat of Milk Castle," *c.* 1547 (Hatfield). From tracing in Armstrong MSS. (*Soc. Ant. Scot.*)

had it been of stone, axes would scarcely have been used in its destruction. It was, we can now see, a structure of wattled clay. Building in this material—reinforced clay—was a survival in practice of a much older time, since a structure of the same kind is described in the old French romance of Fergus, the theatre of which is a Scotland personally familiar to the writer. The romance dates from the beginning of the thirteenth century. The father of the hero—who was Fergus the historical Lord of Galloway—had his castle near the Solway Firth on a great grey rock. It was constructed all round of "hurdles," that is, we may take it, of wattle and clay. On the highest part of the rock was a tower, which was not made of stone and lime but of clay alone with battlements and crenellations.[1] This then is a contemporary description, and our only description, of a late twelfth or early thirteenth century Scottish castle. Its material of wattled clay is of course vastly earlier in use: it goes back to the prehistoric dwelling, which is beyond our present limit. But we shall see this form of building material still in full use in the fourteenth century, even in very important places like Edinburgh Castle. And Leslie witnesses to its use on the Scottish border in the sixteenth century. In the same century the principal men of Tynedale, that is borderers on the English side, were making their strong houses of squared logs, faced with turf as a protection against fire.

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[1] *Letters and Papers*, Henry VIII, IV, Part II, p. 1828.

Sufficient has now been said to establish the character of these ditched mounds and enclosures, which were so long a puzzle to the archæologist and yet were so strangely numerous in certain quarters of the country. And the recognition of their true character is important not only on their own account, but also in the material they provide for a fuller and more intimate understanding of the process by which the political and social history of Scotland was diverted into the channels with which we are familiar.

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[1] En un castiel desus un val
Manoit uns vilains de Pelande
Ases pres de la mer d'Irlande
Desus une grante roche bise
Ot sa maison molt bien asise
Faite de cloies tote entor.
En son le pui ot une tor
Q'n'ert, de piere ne de caus.
De terre estoit li murs fais haus
Et creneles et batilles.

—Fergus, *Roman von Guillaume le Clerc*, ed. Hallé, 1872, lines 304-13.

(On matters dealt with in this chapter, see particularly "Peel: its Meaning and Derivation," *Transactions, Glasgow Arch. Soc., N.S.*, II, pp. 121-53; "The Motes in Norman Scotland," *The Scottish Review*, Oct., 1898, pp. 210-38, both by Dr. George Neilson; and *Early Norman Castles in England*, by Mrs. Armitage.)

CHAPTER II

THE EARLIER STONE CASTLES: XIII-XIV CENTURIES

Castle and Tower as separate elements—Stages in the substitution of Stone for Timber—Stone-work on Motes—Different Types of Stone Castle related to Mote-and-bailey Plan—Rothesay, Kinclaven, Lochindorb—Some Castles on record in Fourteenth Century: Dowart, Dunstaffnage, Eilean Donnan—Siward's "New House at Tibbers" (1298)—Castle of Loch Doon, Carrick—Castle Duffus, Moray, a regular Mote-and-bailey Plan in Stone—Castle Campbell site—A Thirteenth Century group: Dirleton, Bothwell, Kildrummy—English Castle building in Scotland: Edinburgh, Stirling—Later Fourteenth Century work at Edinburgh—Tantallon—Fallacies as to Effects of the War of Independence on Scottish building—Bruce's buildings, Tarbert, Cardross, Dumbarton, Turnberry—Anglo-Scottish Convention as to building in 1323.

WE have seen how the earthwork and timber castles fall into three great types. There is the simple hillock or low mound in a marsh, upon which a tower was erected; and there was no annexe. We have then the regular mote-and bailey plan, with the tower raised on the ground above the enclosure, and each part defined by its own ditch. Finally there is the great mound able to include both tower and bailey, but with no mote in the strict sense, and wholly within a single ditch. These latter plans substantially represent one idea. Obviously the mote in origin is a substitute for a natural feature—an artificial hillock. To select an elevated position for the whole lay out, having tower and bailey on the same level, is not a fundamental departure. And Scotland was rich in suitable natural positions, even rocky outcrops which met the case. We may therefore consider both types as substantially of the same class, with a marshy site or an island as particular varieties. The great thing is a commanding position or one presenting serious natural difficulties of access. Erect your buildings and surround with an enclosure and you have a castle. Among the buildings there was normally a tower or a Hall as the residence of the lord of the place.

In illustration reference may be made to the provisions of certain charters of 1384-5 regarding Edinburgh Castle. In one the Abbot of Holyrood is granted by King Robert II a site for a house to which he and his canons with their household could betake themselves in peace and war. The site was to be beyond the position of the king's "manor," apparently David's Tower. Another charter by John Earl of Carrick and Steward of Scotland, afterwards Robert III, gives free entry and exit with goods and victuals to all and sundry of the burgesses of Edinburgh and their heirs who had or wished to have in future houses in the castle.[1]

Obviously the castle was in the main an enclosure, within which houses could be provided not only for the Abbey household but for the whole burgess population of Edinburgh and their servants.[2]

Here then we must give attention to a significant application of terms. From the twelfth century at least we have a distinction precisely drawn between the enclosure, as the castle proper, and the towers, with a further discrimination of the principal tower or donjon. Jordan Fantosme specifies " le chastel e la tur " of Appleby as captured by William the Lion in 1174. What is important for us is that this distinction persists in the pages of John Barbour in the late fourteenth century and is to be found in Wyntoun in the first quarter of the following century. Barbour tells us how Douglas and his men surprised Roxburgh Castle by climbing the wall in the dark of an evening at the close of February, 1314, how they passed freely about the " castell all that nycht," though the English commander with some of his company were still in " the gret toure," which he purposed to defend " quhen he saw the castell tynt " (lost); and how after the surrender Bruce sent his brother to Roxburgh " to tummyl it doune, Bath tour, castell and dungeoune." Similarly " the castell and the towrys " of Stirling were razed to the ground. We are told too how Edward I on the capture of Bruce's queen and her ladies in 1306, put them " in presoune, sum intill castell, sum in dongeoune," a dungeon or donjon being a tower. We need not interpret mediaeval technical terms too closely, but this usage is certainly fundamental. In the same fourteenth century it is still to be found prevalent in England, e.g. " Order to cause the defects in the paling about the King's tower of York and between it and the castle there to be repaired, etc." [1] And even in the middle of the fifteenth century it is common form in France, *le chastel et le dongon.*[2]

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[1] *Charters, etc., Relating to the City of Edinburgh*, Nos. 11, 12.

[2] An English inquisition of 1340 thus describes the castle or manor of Oakham, Rutlandshire: "At Oakham a castle well walled and in this castle there are one hall, four chambers, one kitchen, two stables, one grange for hay, one house for prisoners, one chamber for the porter, one drawbridge with iron chains, and the castle contains within its walls by estimation two acres of land"—cited in *Archæological Journal*, V, p. 139. Oakham Hall still survives. The "castle" was simply an enclosure with buildings.

It follows from this specific distinction that a castle might exist which had no tower or towers, might indeed be but a lofty enclosure within which its occupants were housed. Cases of this class will presently come under review.

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[1] *Close Rolls*, 1334, Memb. 3, Dec. 12.

[2] *Recouvrement de Normendie* (R.S.), pp. 352, 356.

What indeed we have to do with these early castles is to look at them in the light of a few general principles and not expect a rigid standardised plan. There is an adaptation of the idea of a trenched and walled enclosure with or without a tower or towers to a selected site. In England the eleventh century castle of Ludlow was formed by a curtain wall round a rocky peninsula and had neither mount nor great tower. Newark Castle, above the confluence of two streams, was begun about 1130 and was simply an enclosure with a gatehouse.

It is not, of course, to be assumed that every stone castle had a timber predecessor. Nevertheless, the earlier examples followed similar lines. Where there is a great tower or equivalent building, it is usually ensconced in one corner, to which the bailey serves as a frontal court.

We have seen that in the introduction of the timber castle Scotland was rather more than half a century behind England; in the substitution of stone for timber it is impossible to say how it compares with England, where this process went on actively from the middle of the twelfth century. But in 1221 Dumbarton, an ancient fortified site, was still the "new castle" (*novum castellum meum*) at which a burgh was made. The first stone wall of Stirling Castle was being built in 1288.[1] The free-standing towers of stone will be dealt with in a later chapter. For the moment we confine ourselves to the enclosure type, whether on a regular mound or on a position of natural strength which varies in outline.

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[1] *Exch. Rolls*, I, pp. 40, 47-8.

I

The most primitive cases of replacement of timber by stone are probably those in which stone breastworks occur upon the ordinary mote-and-bailey. At Garpol are traces of a drystone wall round the bailey, which is also continued, at the same level, round the side of the mound, where it would act as an impediment to possible climbers (cf. p. 7). At the Doune of Invernochty the remains of such a wall, more definite and ambitious in character, can be traced round the edge of the oval mound. Traces of the buildings within are suggested by the uneven levels on the summit, which would probably give valuable results by excavation. At Rothesay again we have an island surrounded by a roughly circular wall from 8 to 10 feet thick, the enclosing area being about 142 feet in diameter. It is described by Dean Monro in 1549 as "the round castle of Buitt, callit Rosay of the auld." In this case four towers have been attached to the wall, three of which at some time suffered destruction. Rothesay is said to have been levelled to the ground by Bruce in 1312,[1] but in 1334 we are informed that the keys of the place were formally handed over to Edward Balliol at Renfrew; at the same time young Robert Steward was hiding "in the castle of Rothesay" from which he slipped away to the mainland. We may therefore presume a reconstruction of the castle between these dates. The church which survives within may be attributed to a late period in the fourteenth century, while the fore-building is the "great tower called the dungeoun" completed as late as 1520.[2]

Of rectangular enclosures we have such examples as Kinclaven in Perthshire and Lochindorb on an island in

[1] Fordun, *Gesta Annalia*, CXXIX.

[2] *Exch. Rolls*, XIV, p. 362.

Loch-an-Eilean, a few miles from Grantown, Morayshire, both of which have some prominence in the annals

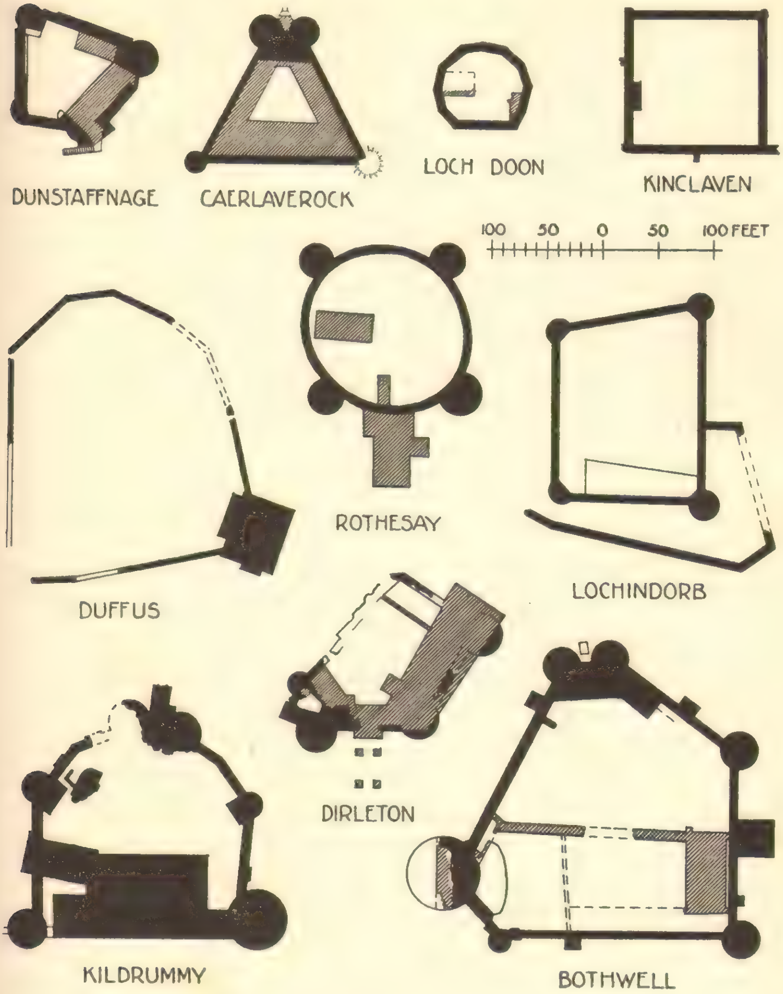


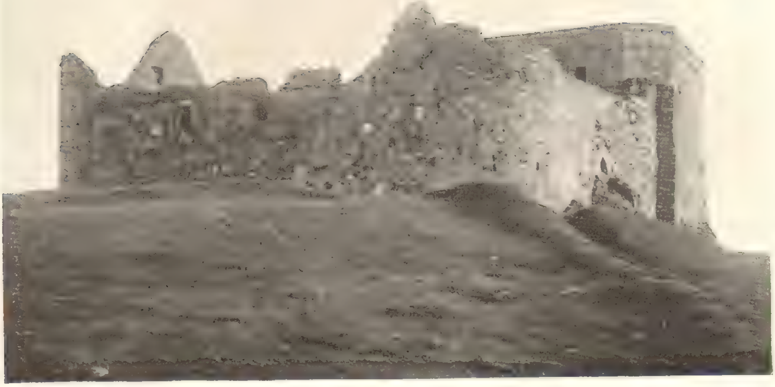
Fig. 4.—Block Plans of Thirteenth and Fourteenth Century Stone Castles

In some cases building later than the original lay-out is indicated by hatching; in others no distinction is made. Minor details have been omitted. On Bothwell see p. 52.

of the War of Independence. The fortalice of Kinclaven, however, is said by Fordun to have been wholly destroyed in 1336. Edward I stayed at Lochindorb for a month in the year 1303. Lochindorb has angle towers of slight projection and flat not round towards the interior. Of this simple type there are several examples in the West Highlands and Isles, which accordingly have been attributed to this early period. In those districts, however, this is a dangerous logic. At a time when memorial effigies in the south were being cut in a complete outfit of plate armour, those in the west show only the ancient quilted coat with cape of mail. So too in the case of western castles. They do not necessarily fit into any chronological scheme elsewhere. Their simplicity of type is no certain indication of antiquity.

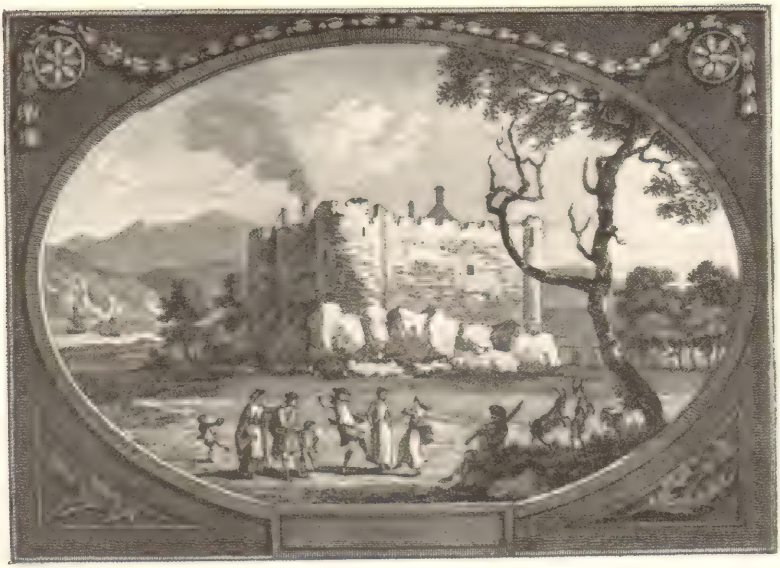
Nine castles, however, and two towers are named by the chronicler, John of Fordun, of the second half of the fourteenth century, as existing in the isles. But even inclusion in that list does not warrant us in taking the existing structure to be of that time. No one will claim the present Lochranza Castle in Arran as being that mentioned by Fordun. Castle Duart or Dowart of the Macleans in Mull is another on the list. But how much of the existing Castle Dowart—now repaired and occupied—dates back to the fourteenth century, it would be hard to say. A family history credits to Hector Mór (1527-68), "that noble addition to Duart Castle called the Great Tower." A house dated 1633 abuts against the north wall, and this wall from its general character appears to be of the same time as the rest of the seventeenth century house, and so a reconstruction. Part of a fourteenth century wall may exist on either side of the original gateway, which has a pointed arch and so may be of that date, but on this face, too, there has been considerable patching. The

PLATE IV



CASTLE DUART—BEFORE RESTORATION

North face: entrance in west wall: Great tower



DUNSTAFFNAGE (A.D. 1779)

From an Old Print

gateway has been reduced in size and prolonged outwards in a narrow passage between walls, known as a barbican—a feature which we shall see is elsewhere characteristic of the fifteenth century. Dowart is apparently a piecemeal structure. If its general plan looks old, it is because this is fitted to its rocky site. That common fact indeed excludes the argument from analogy. Dunstaffnage, too, existed in the early fourteenth and therefore in the thirteenth century and was spared from destruction by Robert Bruce. Its lofty walls with slightly projecting angular towers may well date from that time, though of course there are later constructions within. Eilean Donan Castle occupied its island in Lochalsh in 1330, when the heads of fifty malefactors adorned its walls (*poliunter parietes*). But its tower and fragments of domestic buildings can scarcely be carried so far back; the wall of the heads may be represented by some portions of foundations surrounding the island. A lofty enclosure, equipped with a later tower, describes many of these western examples, but there is usually little if any material upon which to base conclusions as to date. No place could look more primitive than Kismul Castle, Barra, yet there is every reason to be confident that not one stone of it was laid upon another before 1427. A more developed example of this early class is to be seen in the remains on the Mote of Tibbers, Dumfriesshire, and in this case we are fortunate in having a precise date. In August, 1298, Sir Richard Siward, a Scot in the English service, was beginning the erection of "his house at Tibbers." This house occupied what is called in later records the "Castell mote of Tibbers," a mound rising steeply above the confluence of the Barn Burn with the River Nith and isolated by a deep ravine from the adjoining plateau, on which can be traced the mound and ditch which marked off the bailey. The internal buildings of the mote were of stone, but the whole place is in ruin. The walls of the wedge-shaped enclosure are 7 to 9 feet thick and the area within is about $\frac{1}{7}$ acre. There are towers at the angles, one of which flanks the gateway with an additional tower as the other flanker. This plan is virtually repeated in the case of Auchencass on a marshy patch of moorland a few miles behind Beattock, a castle which in the thirteenth century belonged to the Kirkpatricks. It contains about $\frac{1}{3}$ acre. The angle towers have less projection and appear to have been solid as high as they now stand, with the exception

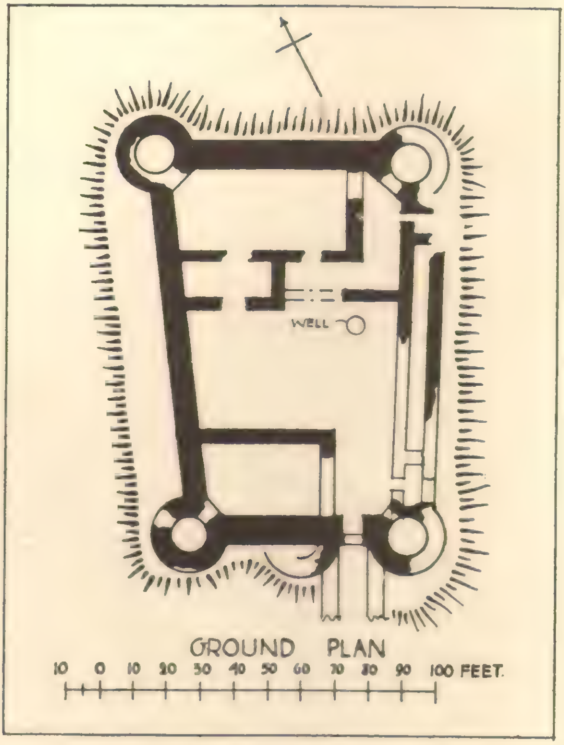


FIG. 5.—TIBBERS CASTLE

of that at the south-east corner, which is of later construction. The main walls are 15 to 20 feet thick, a thickness rendered necessary by the fact that their core is packed with earth and only the faces of coursed rubble are built with lime mortar.

Still keeping to the simple enclosure we take the case of Loch Doon Castle on the border of Ayrshire and Kirkcudbrightshire. Here, however, the wall is many sided or polygonal varying in thickness from 7 to 9 feet. The tower is a later addition, as it abuts against an older fireplace in the main wall. Here again we are in difficulty, since the *Scotichronicon* writer enumerating the strong places in Scottish hands in 1333 specifies Dumbarton, Lochleven, Kildrummy, and Urquhart as castles, while Loch Doon is included as a fortalice of the kind " then called in English a pele."[1] From what survives of it now we can see no reason why it should be so discriminated unless it was at that time really a palisaded structure or " peel " in the strict sense, in which case, of course, the stone enclosure cannot be earlier than the year mentioned.

A complete specimen of the mote-and-bailey lay-out in stone is supplied by the most important case of Castle Duffus, Morayshire, a few miles north of Elgin, which rises from a dark, marshy level like a boss on a buckler. Duffus is really one of the most interesting and significant cases in the country. More simply than any other it reproduces in stone and lime the regular castle-and-bailey erections. A low natural ridge, as so often, which runs nearly north and south furnishes the site ; it has been scarped all round and at the west end elevated in a mound, which to some extent is artificial. On this mound a massive tower has been raised in three floors. Although the span of these is 36 feet, the flooring was of timber; there has been no vault. It was a great width to floor in timber, bearing witness to the character of the growing wood still available in these parts. There is evidence of a ditch between the mound and the bailey, the former being about 14 feet above the level of the bailey and about 40 feet above the general ground level.

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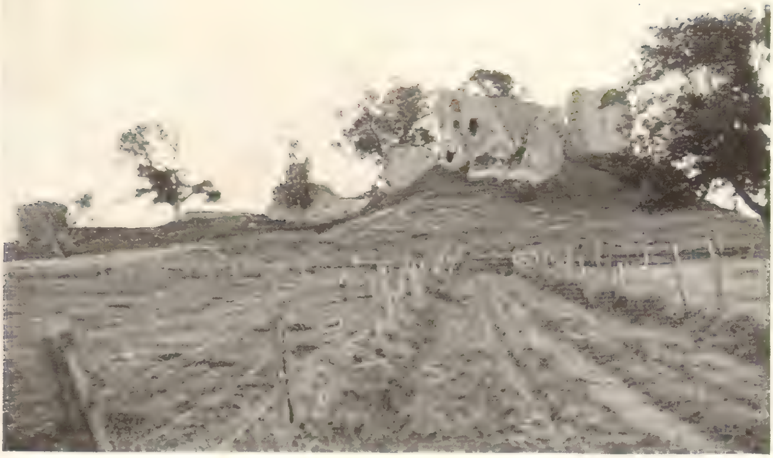
[1] Lib. XIII, cap. xxviii.

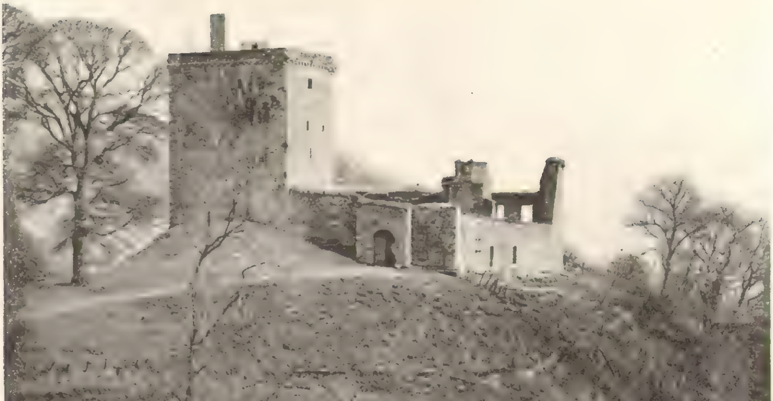
It is clear, however, that there was an earlier erection on the site constructed of the less ponderous materials analysed above. The present mound was certainly never raised in the first instance to carry a tower of such weight. Indeed the result of imposing so heavy a structure on a partially artificial mound of clay has been that the north-west corner has broken off and slid down, while serious cracks have developed on the south face. Further the unstable character of the site must have disclosed itself at an early stage, as the larger windows have been contracted as if to reduce the unsupported open spaces. The smaller windows are not the usual slits but of lancet shape, as if influenced by the neighbouring architecture of Elgin Cathedral. The broad chamfers on the windows suggest a date well on in the fourteenth century, as also do the mural chambers in the front wall.

The tower has a sort of forework, which is more of the character of a vestibule, extending along the greater part of the front towards the bailey. This is roofed with flags, not vaulted. It leads to the stair on the south and on the north to a garderobe closet with external flue. The entrance, now set in modern rebuilding, had a portcullis. The walls average 7 feet 2 inches in thickness, but at the stair turret in the south-east corner there are sections only 14 inches thick. A chimney flue apparently rises from the first floor at the broken corner of the west wall.

The bailey enclosure is of quite a remarkable



CASTLE DUFFUS



CASTLE CAMPBELL OR THE GLOUME (p. 48)

character. One considerable stretch which survives shows it to have been slightly polygonal in character without towers of any kind. It was not more than 15 feet high and had a parapet walk reached from a door above the junction at each end of the tower. The bailey walls are butted against the tower and may be rather, but not much, later. The straight wall on the north side shows evidence of reconstruction, and the remains of buildings on its inner face are probably of the late fifteenth century. There has been a building also against the west wall, both sets being adjacent to the tower. An extraordinary feature is that the bailey gives evidence of no fewer than three entrances in addition to the principal entrance facing the ramp which leads down to the surrounding ditch. These openings have no special equipment of defence.

The bailey includes an area of about an acre, but the level outside has been surrounded by a ditch about 25 feet wide at a distance ranging from 130 to 250 feet from the base of the ridge. The ditch was crossed by a stone bridge on the eastern sector about 215 feet from the line of the bailey wall, up to which there is a raised approach or earthen ramp. At its inner end must have been the main entrance, of which nothing now remains. The only well found in connection with the castle lies on the north side of this ramp about 15 feet from its western end. It was thus outside the actual buildings (cf. p. 130). The whole area within the ditch measures about 8 acres.

The lands of Duffus originally belonged to a member of the De Moravia family, but in 1286 passed by marriage to Sir Reginald de Chen (Cheyne). This Sir Reginald in 1305 had permission from Edward I for 200 oaks " to build his manor at Dufhous." It seems an excessive amount for the woodwork of the tower, which on other grounds suggests a date nearer the close of the century. In 1350 the lands passed again by marriage to a member of the family of the Earls of Sutherland.

Another interesting example of the same utilisation of the earlier earthworks occurs in Castle Campbell near Dollar, of old known as "the Gloume," till the first Earl of Argyll, into whose possession the property had come, had the name changed to the present commonplace form by Act of Parliament in 1490. The tower occupies the ancient mote, and the courtyard, with its late, partly sixteenth century buildings, spreads over the bailey. The old ditch lies out in front, sweeping round to the brow of the glen behind, where the ascent is precipitous. (See Plate V.)

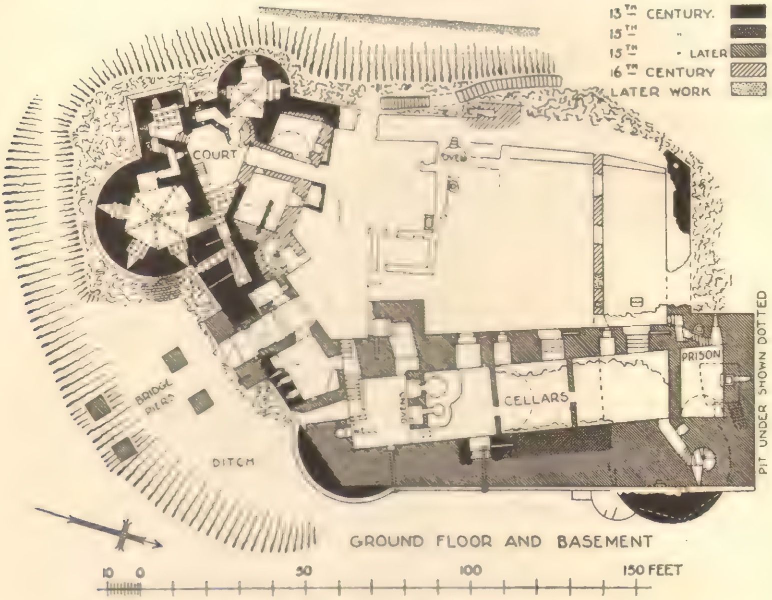


Fig. 6.—Dirleton Castle

There is a small group of thirteenth century castles to which a closer scrutiny must be given. A castle at Dirleton in East Lothian is alluded to as early as 1225. Whether any part or how much of the present fabric can be carried back to that date it is not possible to say. Enough remains, however, of thirteenth century building to show that the plan of the castle followed the outline of the site, a rocky promontory projecting into lower ground and isolated from the higher level by an artificially formed ditch. The earlier building is represented by the cluster of three towers at the west corner, the curtain wall between the largest of these towers and the entrance of later reconstruction, the lower courses of the wall beyond, and the sloping plinth of a tower at the east corner. The whole block on the eastern flank is a drastic rebuilding of a later date, but recent excavations have exposed the foundation courses of a tower at the north-east corner. At the opposite corner of this northern face the angle of the original curtain wall is still in place : there was no tower here above the perpendicular rock face. All the thirteenth century building is faced with ashlar in 10-inch courses. The buildings of later dates will come up for consideration afterwards.

The uppermost parts of the remaining towers are gone. The largest has a diameter of 36 feet within walls 10 feet thick. Its ground floor and first floor are vaulted and six-sided in shape internally ; and the ground floor of the smaller round tower and the upper floor of the oblong tower also preserve their vaults. All this earlier vaulting is ribbed, though the ribs have mostly disappeared while the vaults remain ; in the later buildings we have only barrel vaults.

Dirleton in the thirteenth century belonged to the family of De Vaux, who were prominent also in the north of England. It was a position selected for its natural advantages, but, in time of war, could become a base for operations against detached parties of the enemy. Thus in 1298, before the Battle of Falkirk, the foraging detachments of Edward I were being harassed from Dirleton and the place had to be captured. During the following centuries it was extensively reconstructed. In 1650 it was "a nest of moss-troopers," and General Lambert with Colonel Monk had to force its surrender with shell-fire and not much of that, when between sixty and seventy of a garrison surrendered to a besieging army of 1600, after which the English "demolished the house."

Among the thirteenth century castles on record Caerlaverock enjoys a unique distinction in that its capture by Edward I in July, 1300, is commemorated in a contemporary Anglo-French poem, *Le Siege de Karlaverock.* On its recovery by Bruce shortly after 1312 it was levelled to the ground, its owner, Sir Eustace Maxwell, being compensated for its loss by a reduction of more than a half of the payment from his lands due to the Crown. This implies an effective dismantling of the place. It was subsequently re-erected, for in 1356 Sir Roger Kirkpatrick in the national interest again levelled it to the ground.[1] We can scarcely expect then to find much if any of the thirteenth century work left. Yet the description of the place in the Anglo-French poem answers fairly to the present general plan : it was, we are told, shaped like a shield with a tower at each corner, but one of these towers double, having the gate and drawbridge underneath. The layout of the castle in fact was determined by the site, a roughly triangular outcrop of rock in marshy ground, where a small lake has been formed by a massive mound. The oldest building, however, as we now see it, must be subsequent to the demolition of 1356 ; the shot holes in the lower courses of the twin towers on

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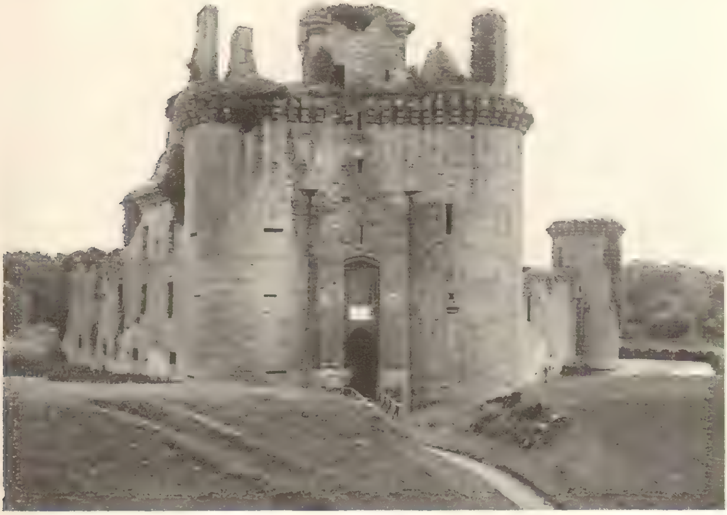
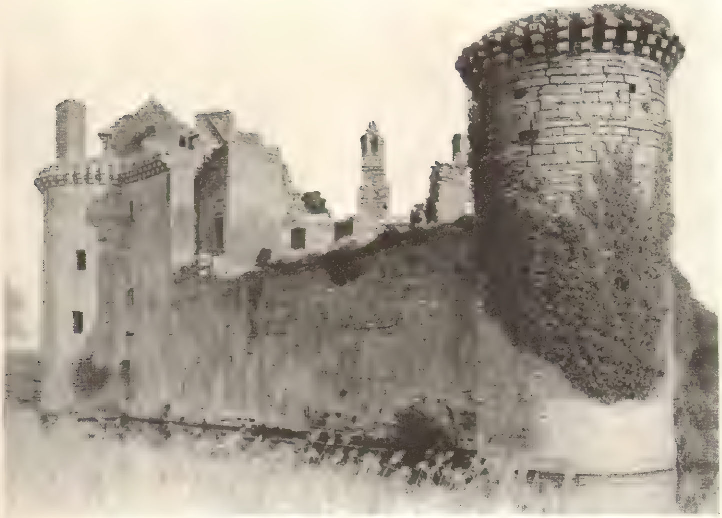
[1] *Prostravit ad solum.*



THE FRONT



WEST SIDE

CAERLAVEROCK CASTLE

the front may have been inserted, but the heavy corbelling of the parapets is of the kind we shall see to be characteristic of the fifteenth century; a family history probably of the seventeenth century informs us that the walls (cf. p. 85) were finished by the second Lord Maxwell (1452-88). The internal structures, which are of still later origin, will be noted at the proper chronological stage.

At Bothwell Castle, the most important English base on the west during the Wars of Independence, thirteenth century work can be traced with assurance. The castle stands on the steep bank above a bend of the Clyde, about a mile from Bothwell Bridge, which probably marks the position of an older ford. It was in English hands from the beginning of the fourteenth century till after Bannockburn, and was their principal base in the western lowlands. When the English again occupied it in 1335, Edward III is said to have had it repaired from its destruction by the Scots,[1] but early in 1337 it was captured by the Scots under the regent Sir Andrew Moray, to the elder branch of whose family it belonged by inheritance. On this occasion Fordun specifies it as the " tower of Bothwell," its great tower being the dominating feature, a description which his later editor and expander alters to the ordinary *castrum* or castle. Wyntoun too insists upon the siege of " that stalwart toure." Fordun further states that the Scots after its capture razed the tower to the ground.[2] A contemporary Yorkshire chronicler, who would have ample opportunity of knowing what went on in Scotland, informs us in unusually comprehensive terms that the Scots after taking the place " scattered it from the foundations." [3] The Castle of St. Andrews is associated with Bothwell in this statement. Of St. Andrews it is stated in the *Scotichronicon* that its walls were levelled (*muris prostratis*), and no part dating to this early period can now be positively identified. But it is significant in the present connection that Bishop Trail (1386-1401), who rebuilt the castle, had to do so " from the foundations." [1] Examination of Bothwell brings out a parallel history. The whole of the outer half of the great tower has at one time been demolished and subsequently built up with a straight wall to a sloping roof. The inner half of the tower facing the courtyard therefore represents the thirteenth century work and is of the finely built ashlar in generally lengthy low courses of that time. The original curtain wall going north from the tower is clearly traceable at its junction with the later curtain and in the foundation courses, in which remains also some part of an earlier opening upon the inner ditch. Farther on the later wall returns westwards, but excavations some forty years ago disclosed the original foundation courses extending from this point as far again to an entrance between two towers with a ditch in front. From here we can follow the old line back southwards till it reaches the cross wall and again find it at the base of the square tower and the curtain up to the south-east tower. It cannot be definitely claimed to underlie this tower, but is again discernible along the south curtain till the postern is reached, between which and the donjon the original wall substantially remains. Our survey therefore bears out what the chroniclers have said : the place was indeed " scattered from the foundations " and the outer half at least of the great tower was " levelled to the ground," in which condition it was perfectly useless. All of the building then, except the inner half of the donjon and attached portions of the curtain must be subsequent to the destruction of 1337.

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[1] *Chron. de Lanercost*, p. 288.

[2] *Eam . . . ad terram prostravit.*

[3] *Funditus dissiparunt* (*Chron. de Melsa*, II, p. 378).

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[1] *Scotich.* Lib. VI, cap. xlvi.

Reconstruction utilised only the southern part of the original area. Over the postern on the south face is a stone panel bearing the arms of Archibald the Grim, third Earl of Douglas, who was the founder of Bothwell Collegiate Church in 1398, reconstructed Lincluden College and did sufficient to be styled the second founder and reformer of the Abbey of Sweetheart, all before his death in 1400. Probably he had this whole south curtain built or rebuilt with the interior buildings against it, of which only the windows in the wall now remain. In the chapel abutting on the south-east tower were found fallen bosses with Douglas arms. But the north wall and the straight wall closing the tower are probably earlier, of the period between 1337 and the acquisition of the place by Earl Archibald through marriage in 1371. There is no reason to suppose that the place lay derelict for these thirty or forty years: it is indeed most unlikely. Some building therefore must be due to that time. Nor is this north wall throughout entirely of one construction. The tabled plinth, starting from the west end, stops short on the face of the eastern buttress, and the portion of wall beyond not only lacks this feature but in itself gives evidence of reconstruction. Various details point to there having been a building here before the present great hall was raised; for communication between the first floor of this building and the rooms in the square tower, the drawbridge, of which we see the traces in the tower, was apparently devised. The new hall being built up against the tower required no such aid.

The south-east tower is shown by the character of the shafts in the jambs of the chimneys to be of late fourteenth or more probably early fifteenth century date. The massive corbelling of the parapet looks like a later imposition upon the original wall head. The cavetto mouldings at the bases of the corbels are weak in character and not in all cases of the full width of the corbel above. The irregular masonry of the wall between the corbels has the appearance of late infilling. Possibly this crown is a later modification.

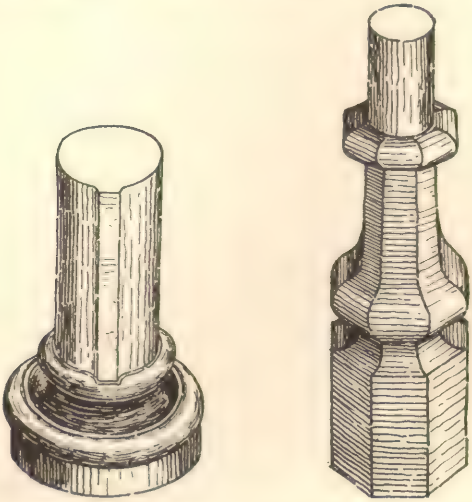

FIG. 7.—BASES OF SHAFTS AT BOTHWELL CASTLE

That to the left is from the window on the first floor of the great tower and is of the later thirteenth century. On the right is a base from a chimney shaft on the first floor of the south-east tower and may be attributed to the fifteenth century

The great tower[1] of Bothwell presents the unusual

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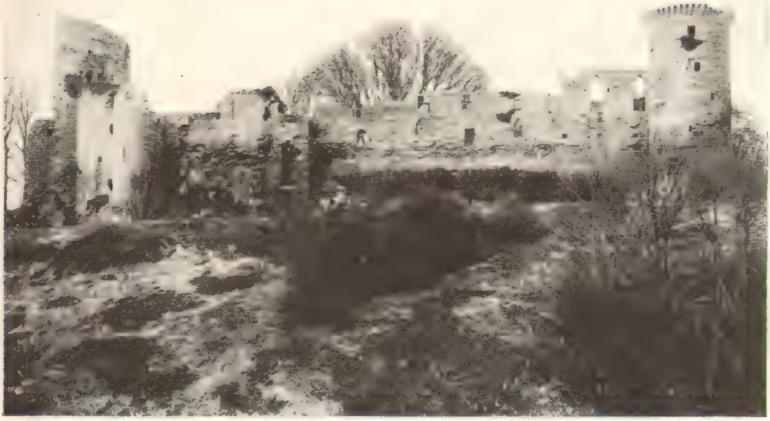
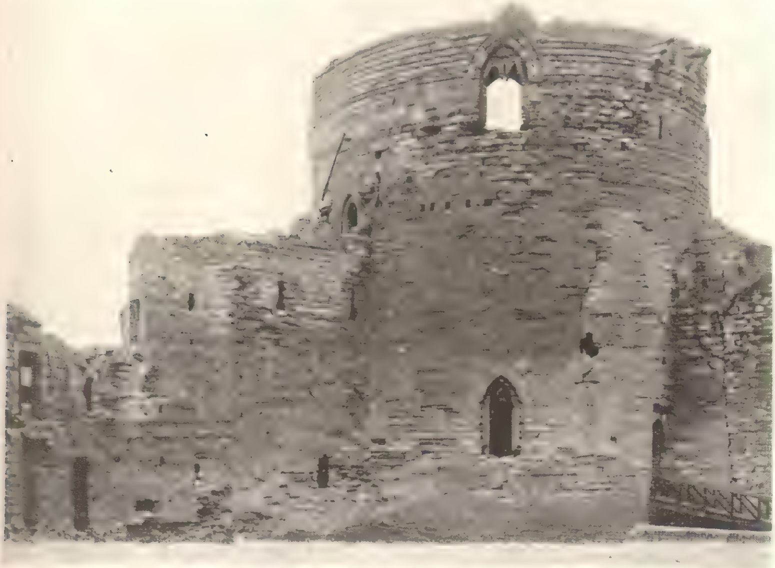
[1] Currently called the Valence Tower. But cf. from a compilation of 1710.—The castle "hath been built at severall times by those it appertained to, as appears by the different names of Valence towr, Douglas towr, Hamilton towr, the Cuming towr, and the Dungeon" (*Descriptions of the Sheriffdoms of Lanark and Renfrew*, Maitland Club, p. 39). If the Dungeon is the Donjon or Great Tower, then that is not the Valence Tower. No Cuming had anything to do with the place, nor did any Hamilton ever own it. Identification of the towers seems to be arbitrary and the names lack corroboration.



SOUTH SIDE
Remains of Great Tower. Windows of Chapel next to S.E. Tower



INNER FACE OF GREAT TOWER
Raggle of parapet roof on left (p. 92): ditch in front (p. 55): entrance to tower on right

BOTHWELL CASTLE

feature of a ditch between it and the courtyard. There is a similar feature isolating the early sixteenth tower of Urquhart Castle from the courtyard. But in the case of Bothwell this is said to be a link with the Chateau de Coucy, upon which Bothwell, it is claimed, has been modelled. Marie de Coucy was the second wife of Alexander II, and this is believed to have implied a knowledge of the characteristics of the great chateau among the Scottish nobility. But the differences are more fundamental than the fractional resemblance in a very old-fashioned feature. The ground-plan of Coucy is not that of Bothwell. Further, the enormous tower at Coucy was wholly isolated within its own ditch and circular wall and was vaulted on every floor; while Bothwell tower is engaged in the curtain and had but one vault. There is nothing odd in the semi-detachment of the tower from the courtyard; Welsh castles like Dynefwr and Flint have towers wholly detached from the enclosure. Duffus, as we have seen, had a ditch between the mound with its tower and the bailey. In fact Bothwell in its original form reflects the old mote-and-bailey lay-out, in which the mote with its tower had normally its own inner ditch, and Coucy does the same. They share a common conception: that is all.[1] The remarkable thing about Coucy was the gigantic scale upon which it was built: "Everything in this fortress is colossal," wrote le Duc. It was not the sort of place to recommend itself as a model for a Scottish nobleman: it was unique even in France.

We may now turn to consider a more difficult case in Kildrummy Castle,[2] Aberdeenshire, which is usually set down as for the most part the actual castle of Scottish origin besieged for Edward I in 1306, when it sheltered for a short time the queen of Robert Bruce and was defended by his luckless brother Nigel. Little more than part of the outer shell of the buildings remains, and much of that fragmentary. Its plan is polygonal, roughly five-sided, with six towers of varying size and now in varying stages of dilapidation, two at the principal corners being circular and the others round only on the outer face.[1] The principal tower, that in the north-west corner, is credibly reported to have been vaulted on each floor, in which respect—here in contrast with Bothwell—it is brought into intimate relation with the great tower at Coucy. On the other hand, quite late towers in Scotland are so vaulted without having any particular relationship. It is rather a late than an early feature (cf. p. 184). Another point in common between Kildrummy and Coucy is believed to exist in the fact that the towers in question had each an opening in the successive vaults for the purpose, it is said, of raising water from the well in the basement. But a precisely similar convenience, on a smaller scale, was a feature of the seventeenth century tower at Coxton, near Elgin, which is vaulted throughout (cf. p. 212), but does not contain a well. Such openings were simply a primitive form of lift for household use, a labour-saving contrivance that might occur at any time, as indeed to some degree it does. Such general self-explanatory features are scarcely enough to warrant remote analogies.

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[1] Cf. *le château à donjon indépendant et isolé qui procède de la tradition roman, comme à Coucy* (Enlart, *Manuel d'Archéologie Française*, II, 518).

[2] For a full account see *The Castle of Kildrummy*, by W. Douglas Simpson.

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[1] The north-west tower has been baptised the Snow Tower, a name that cannot be traced farther back than the account of 1726 in Macfarlane's *Geographical Collections*. Obviously it derives from the old name of the place, Snawdoun, the first half of which has been assumed to be Scots for "snow!" There are other instances of the name: it is familiar in the case of Stirling Castle, and there is a Snawdoun on record in East Lothian, another in Fife, in Berwick, etc. In "Snawtoun," Kincardineshire, the name is rationalised in the second half.

A hall with attached buildings flanks the north curtain, and a chapel abuts awkwardly on this block with an even more awkward projection of its east end beyond the line of the curtain.

The plan, then, is of the bailey type prevalent in the thirteenth century. Superficially it resembles that of Loch Doon, where too we have one long side as a base line for an angled enclosure of a number of sides, and also Bothwell. The bailey at Castle Duffus is polygonal in short stretches of straight wall. We can understand such a lay-out arising from the curvilinear form of the palisaded bailey. Very probably there was an earlier structure on the Kildrummy site. East of the castle, but now dissociated from it, still survives a portion of a great ditch, 80 feet wide and from 15 to 20 feet deep, which is quite distinctly mediaeval in character. This with the apparent scarping of the bank on the north and north-west suggests an original castle of the mound and palisade class, of which there are other striking examples in the district, the stone erection being withdrawn to occupy a more restricted area.

Another striking feature is the position of the chapel, projecting slightly and at an angle beyond the east curtain. For this no explanation can be given; it can scarcely be claimed as a military subtlety. Possibly it represents the position of an earlier structure on a less encumbered site. The three tall lancet windows in the east gable in themselves and their details suggest work of the second half of the thirteenth century.

A considerable stretch of walling on the west side differs glaringly both in the nature of the stone and in its roughly coursed rubble with pinnings from the building in any other part. On the other hand, the long stretch of wall in the north face with its towers is of a homogeneous style of building in careful ashlar. The other towers too are ashlar built, but the tower walls extending from the entrance have a character of their own and are clearly additions. Kildrummy seems to be a rather more complex problem than it looked at first sight.

In pronouncing on the question whether this structure is the castle of 1306 and therefore of thirteenth century origin, one must take account of John Barbour's detailed narrative of the siege in *The Bruce*. Now Barbour since 1357 had been Archdeacon of Aberdeen, and he completed his chronicle poem in 1376. In any case we may be sure he used local knowledge of the incidents of the notorious siege, and indeed so much is obvious. English attacks on the " castell," which was strong and well-provisioned, were unavailing, till a traitor " Osbarn to name " set the place on fire. The " mekill hall " was " fillit all " with corn. The present hall is of stone of two storeys, but Barbour's language suggests a single apartment. High up on a heap of this corn, no doubt retaining much of the straw according to the manner of reaping, Osbarn threw a red-hot coulter. Soon fire began to show through " the thick burd " of the hall, first like a star, then like a moon, till it broke out in a blaze—a description which surely points to the thick sides of a wooden building and not either to a wooden floor or a roof. The fire spread over the whole castle, and those within had to take to the wall, which " at that tym," he says significantly, had inner as well as outer battlements. " That battalyng, withouten dout, saffit thair liffis," he explains, for it broke the impact of the flames. The English now attacked where the flames allowed them and succeeded in burning down the gate, but found it impossible to enter for the heat of the conflagration inside. Next day, however, finding that all their food had been destroyed,[1] the Scots surrendered the place, which the English thereupon dismantled :—

> " all a quarter off Snawdoune,
> Rycht to the erd, thai tumlit doune."

It is plain that the idea of Kildrummy in 1306 which Barbour had in his mind, is not that of the place we see to-day. It was a " castell," that is an enclosure, but there is no mention of a tower. A writer of the early eighteenth century, however, reports that the great north-west or " Snow " tower, as he calls it, now reduced to little more than foundations, was vaulted on every floor. The point here is that with a fire-proof tower of this sort in existence, it would have been strange for Barbour to say that the garrison saved themselves from the fire only by taking refuge within the double embattlements of the wall. Moreover this battling was of the Kildrummy " at that tym," not of the place when he wrote ; there had obviously been some reconstruction. When it comes to the dismantling of the place he adopts a form of words never used in any other case of the sort. In these—Roxburgh, Edinburgh, Stirling, etc.—it is always a procedure of pulling down castle and tower or towers : at Kildrummy it is a casting down of a " quarter," that is one side. The Kildrummy implied in Barbour's narrative is thus an enclosure of stone, within which were many wooden buildings, so that the quickly spreading fire turned the place into a raging furnace with the Scots cowering behind the battlements above and the English unable to enter below.

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[1] If then the donjon existed and was intended as a place of final resistance for a garrison, as the explanation goes, it was unprovided with food, which rather reflects upon the theory. On this cf. Appendix B.

If then Barbour's narrative and its implications be accepted, the buildings we now see must be referred to a later period.

Records give little specific light on the constructional history of the place after its partial destruction in 1306. It suffered three other sieges between 1335 and 1404 besides an obscure affair of the kind about 1530. In 1337, we have to infer, it was not good enough to hold English prisoners, who were sent to Dumbarton, because " there was no other good castle then freely in the hands of the Scots, except that one and the castle of Caerlaverock."[1] Yet there is no reason to believe that Kildrummy was not then in Scottish hands. In 1436 the place was annexed to the Crown and in 1437-8 we have record of building operations at Kildrummy, involving dressed stone but not apparently any extensive work. In 1464, however, there is the roofing of two towers called " the burges tour " and " the maldis tour." These names have been reconstituted as " Brux Tower "—Brux being an estate in the neighbourhood—and " Maule's Tower " and the towers identified as those on the sides, but without a satisfactory reason in either case.[2] Four years later we have really important work, for in 1468 £100 is spent on " the construction and repair of the castle of Kildrummy," and in the year following another £100 is laid out in the same way, while in 1471 £80 more is devoted to the " fabric and repair of the castle." As the total expenses of building of the great tower at Rothesay Castle in 1520 amounted to £191 7s., the sum of £280 at Kildrummy must represent a fair amount of construction. Without condescending further on this difficult problem one is perhaps justified in suggesting that probably rather more fourteenth and fifteenth century work subsists in Kildrummy than has hitherto been recognised.

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[1] *Chron. de Lanercost*, p. 296.

[2] " Maldis " in Scots would not give " Maule's " : e.g. " haldis " is " hauds," the " l " merely indicating a long vowel. The wife of King David I, Matilda or Maud, is called by Wyntoun " Dame Mald."

II

We may now consider the building done in Scotland on behalf of the English king, Edward III, during his period of supremacy as the patron and beneficiary of Edward Balliol. In March, 1337, John de " Swanneslande " was appointed superior of works in the castles and towns of Scotland occupied by the English. Rebuilding, however, under English auspices had been going on for the previous eighteen months at least, and we possess the detailed accounts relating to the castles of Edinburgh and Stirling. Edinburgh Castle had apparently been deserted since its capture by Thomas Randolph in the spring of 1314, after which " bath tour and wall " were destroyed " rycht to the ground." The wall at the place where Randolph's Scots clambered up on ladders was about 12 feet high : within the enclosure were the houses. Twenty years after (Nov. 2, 1335) the only buildings standing on the rock were a chapel in part unroofed, a little " pentice " or penthouse or lean-to above the chapel, and a new stable, of which only a quarter was roofed ; probably in this stable were the wagons (*chares*) and two dozen oxen which complete the inventory. It would seem that the site was actually let for grazing, since we find " the Mote of the Castle of Edinburgh " [1] apparently the hill as a whole—supposed to yield a revenue to the sheriff. There was no return for the years 1336-7 because " the mote " was being built upon. The accounts for this building begin in November, 1335, and extend to March, 1337 ; and there is some later work. The chief master-mason was John of Kilburn, who was also employed for some months at Bothwell Castle. The number of masons and masons' labourers working under John of Kilburn varies, but on the roll at one stage are eighteen other English craftsmen and eleven Scottish masons. There was also a master carpenter, William of Swaledale (*de Swaldal*), apparently a Yorkshire man, and eight Scottish carpenters, besides thatchers, plasterers or daubers with clay (*daubatoribus*), and others. The buildings included a great chapel, in which there was also a granary—probably below the chapel—a hall, pantry, kitchen, and "divers other houses," all built of wood or turf or wattle and clay,[1] and roofed with boards or thatch of straw or brushwood and clay. A glazier put four glass windows in St. Margaret's Chapel. The houses would be scattered about the enclosure in the usual unsymmetrical way ot the time. In the latter half of 1339 a carpenter was making "bretasches," or wooden superstructures, while masons were constructing a new gate with stone arches, and a further defence was added in the form of "moodewallis," like the mud-walls raised by the English round Perth in 1332.[2] Soon after, in April, 1341, the place, by a simple trick frequently practised, was captured and occupied by the Scots.

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[1] *Mota castri de Edenburghe.*

Contemporaneously with the rehabilitation of Edinburgh Castle was a similar undertaking at Stirling. This place, too, wall and towers, had been demolished by Bruce's orders after the Battle of Bannockburn. The remains of the old wall were torn up and its stones used in building the new one, which therefore seems to have taken a different line. It had turrets (*turellis*). Moreover, a cross wall of stone was built, 150 feet long by 20 feet high, converting the area into an inner and outer bailey, while a wall was built out from either side of the gate above the drawbridge, thus forming a *barbican* at the entrance. The carpenters elevated a defence of the inner bailey in the form of a peel (*pele*), the walls (*parietes*) of which were daubed with clay and which had besides a wooden bretasche or superstructure. Within Stirling Castle was the same assemblage of buildings as at Edinburgh, a hall with pantry and buttery, larder and a food-store, all the work of carpenters—though we now hear of stone foundations—and roofed with wattle-and-clay or flat turves ("flaghturfs"), while the walls also were clay daubed. The only stone building as yet was the gaol. Stirling fell to the Scots a year later than Edinburgh, the garrison surrendering on the exhaustion of their supplies of food.

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[1] There are entries for twenty-four, twenty-one, and eighteen cart-loads of twigs for "wattelyngs." Another is of clay (*terra*) for daubing and turf for roofing; others of turf for walls, etc. The lime *pro fabrica castri* would seem to be for the enclosing wall.

[2] Wyntoun.

This was not all the English building in Scotland at this time. From other sources we learn that they rebuilt the castle at St. Andrews, Leuchars, and Roxburgh, besides some smaller places.[1]

Here we may take up again the story of Edinburgh Castle from the point where we left it reconstructed by its English holders. It was then but a stone wall enclosing an assemblage of buildings constructed in the same material as those of the town below. The next stage finds it again under native control, and in 1368 begin the accounts relating to the erection of a "new tower," the payments continuing for eleven years till the completion of the work. Only the cost of over £400 and the time taken warrant us in believing it was a tower of stone and lime. What the description

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[1] Fordun; *Scalacronica*, p. 164; Knighton's *Chronicon* (R.S.), I, 477.

" new " exactly implies, cannot be said. This description is in places expanded as " the tower constructed at the gate of the castle," " the new tower of the gate," and " the tower next the gate." Three years after the date of completion we have a reference to " the great tower," and in 1448 we hear of the repair of " the David Tower," in the following year of the repair of " the tower of the gate of the castle," and in 1455 of the repair and roofing of " the greater tower." In 1488 there is mention again of " David's Tower." In the siege of 1573 David's Tower was an obvious target; one day the " south quarter " or side was brought down, on the next the " eist quarter." It stood in the position now occupied by the Half-Moon Battery, as is clear from the contemporary print. That some part of the old building remained there was suspected, and a careful investigation in 1912 by the Office of Works, at the instigation of a sub-committee of the Royal Commission on Ancient Monuments, made clear that this was the case.

Worked into or under coal cellar and water tank were the lower floors of a tower, the south wall of which could be followed upwards to a height of 45 feet. The complete tower, as it stood in 1573, was then said to be 60 feet high. Originally it consisted of a main block (51½ by 37½ feet) with a wing (21½ by 19½ feet) to the south lining into the west face. Later the re-entrant angle thus formed was also incorporated within the building so as to give a simple oblong tower. But there is little to gain for our present purpose from a closer examination of the details of David's Tower, of which but a fragment exists boxed within other buildings. It is a special case. As to the internal arrangements little is left for description. An inventory of 1566 notes the contents of " the second hous (i.e. room or floor) of Davidis toure," of " the hous of the same," and what was in "Daviddis tour hall;" while an inventory of 1488 tells us that "in the cloissat (closet) of Davidis tour" among other things was "King Robert Brucis serk." Attention may be drawn to a few unusual features. The side of the tower towards the higher level of the rock is occupied by a corridor, giving access by a door to this upper level as well as to a turnpike stair at the north-west corner, to a first floor chamber, and to the first floor of the wing, which again is reached from the outside by a stair rising from a doorway with a head formed by two sloping lintels. Opposite the stair is a recess for the janitor. From this wing a wall runs to the south-west, which is pierced by an entrance. This is not the Flodden Wall: it trends in the wrong direction. The entrance is "the posterum (postern) on the sowtht syde of Davidis tour," before which in 1517 three persons from the town were to keep watch nightly while the young James V lived in the Tower.[1] The furrow in the rock, therefore, is the head of an ancient pathway leading to the castle from the town.

Going on to a much later time, we find that in 1563 a medium-sized cannon, "ane moyane" was raised "to David's toure heid," which thus must have been flat, though a drawing of a siege ten years after shows it with a gabled roof, where no cannon could be. At this siege it is recorded that the south quarter (side) of David's Tower fell, as the result of bombardment, "togidder with some of the foir wall and of the heid wal besyd Sanct Margarite's zet." The "heid wall" can only be the wall round the upper level, and the gate, therefore, that just behind St. Margaret's Chapel now known as Foog's Gate. If this be so, it would be well if the old, savoury name were restored and the incongruous Foog consigned to oblivion.

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[1] *Acta Dom. Conc.* XXIX, f. 179b.

Other works of the late fourteenth century in the castle were the construction of a well and of "the tower of the well" in 1361-2, apparently St. Margaret's Well below the rock, and what was the Wellhouse or, as it was corrupted, Wallace Tower. In 1382 St. Mary's Chapel was reconstructed and a kitchen with other conveniences "next to the great tower," built of stone and lime "in the manner of a vault."

Just before the last quarter of the century begins, one of the most imposing of Scottish castles was already in existence. This was "Temptaloun" or Tantallon referred to as his castle in 1374 by William, first Earl of Douglas and Mar. Here again the plan and character of the structure are adapted to the site, a roughly oblong promontory on the coast some 2½ miles south of North Berwick, the sides of which are unscaleable rocky cliffs rising about 100 feet. Across the neck of the promontory a curtain wall has been erected, 50 feet high and 12 feet thick where solid, in front of which yawns a great ditch. The wall is angled to follow the rock and is stopped at a tower at each extremity, one known as the Douglas Tower and the other as the East Tower. Central to these is the great Mid Tower, under which passed the entrance. The outer face of this tower was at a later date extended below wall level in a considerable forework, and some time in the sixteenth century the upper part of the original stair of the tower was built up and a new turnpike formed within a turret in the northern angle of the tower and the curtain. The Mid Tower is now but a shell; the Douglas Tower is reduced to the basement floor below the ground level, and of the East Tower but a fragment stands.

All the towers rise some 20 feet above the parapet of the curtain wall, with which they have direct communication, but straight stairs also led from the court-

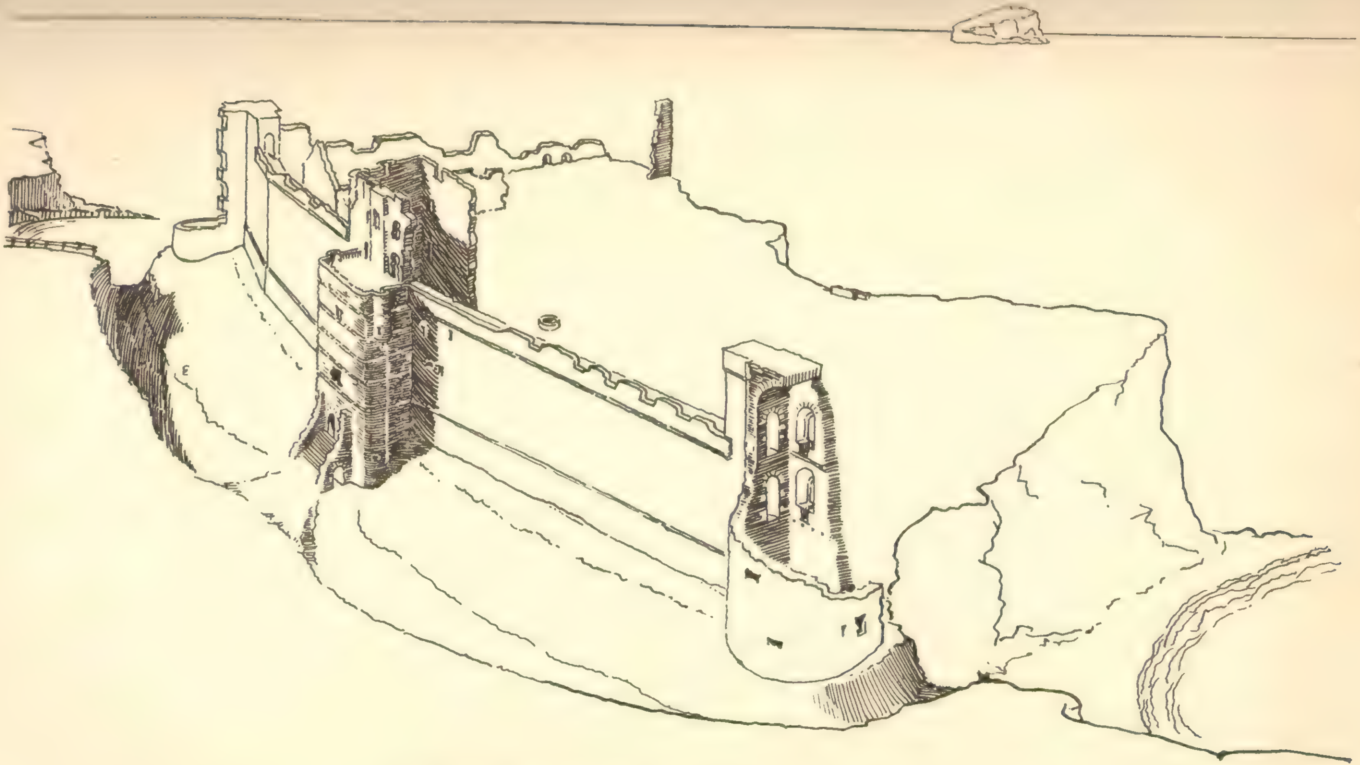

FIG. 8.—TANTALLON CASTLE: BIRD'S EYE VIEW

yard in the thickness of the curtain, opening on to small rooms in transit. These illustrate an interesting historic occurrence. Tantallon was besieged by James V in 1528 with cannon great and small. As in the case of Threave, bombardment was a failure, and gold proved stronger than iron. When King James got possession of Tantallon he, Pitscottie tells us, caused masons to build up the hollow parts of the wall " as transses and throw passages and maid all massie work," so that the place should be impregnable. Much of this infilling has been cleared out but parts still remain, distinguishable by the fact that the infilling consists of green basalt blocks from the shore set massively in mortar, in contrast with the red sandstone of the rest of the fabric.

Round the sides of the enclosure fragments of other buildings remain, particularly on the north side. These latter are of two periods, which is explained by the fact that the Earl of Angus, when he returned to his home in 1542, found it necessary to have " almoste all the lodginges taken doone to be new buylded." This information was intended to warn off Sir Ralph Sadler, the English ambassador, from taking refuge at Tantallon, when Edinburgh became too hot for him. Nevertheless Sadler managed to stay in the castle for two months.

III

Something falls to be said on the effects of the War of Independence upon Scottish building. On various grounds these effects are claimed to have been so drastic as to necessitate a fresh start and so mark the end of a definite period in building. Bruce, it is pointed out, destroyed castles, and from this it is inferred that he put a ban upon their erection. This inference cannot be justified. The destruction was but a local military necessity, and there were castles such as Dunstaffnage and Berwick which he did not destroy. And, as soon as the great issue was, for the time, settled, Bruce himself set to work to build. From 1327 to 1329 masons and carpenters were employed in constructing the "manor" of Turnberry. Tarbert Castle was his creation. It was the same sort of construction as those we have just been considering—a stone-walled enclosure: a scattered group of timbered buildings. Because the builder, in the absence of the king—who seems to have given the work his personal supervision—made the wall thicker than his contract bound him to, he received an additional payment. This incident is perhaps of some significance, as showing on what sort of chance the thickness of a wall might depend. Within the enclosure was a hall of wood thatched with straw (*messorum*), its walls plastered with clay and sand and its posts set in stone and lime. There were the usual accompanying buildings—chapel, kitchen, bakehouse, chambers, etc. The fact that even the royal family are still housed in structures of wood carries no special significance for Scotland: in 1333 a timber house was ordered to be erected in the castle of York for occupation by Queen Philippa.[1]

The manor of Cardross was another royal residence of the Bruces made up in the same way as Tarbert. In 1329, too, work was being done at Dumbarton Castle, and in the following year we read of the erection of its gatehouse. The idea that Bruce had any objection to castles as such arises simply from the emphasis given to their study as military works. As well hold that, because he laid the country waste before the invader, he objected to seed-time and harvest. In point fact, a convention between King Robert of Scotland

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[1] *Close Rolls*, 1333, Memb. 10, June 12.

and King Edward II of England in June, 1323, envisages quite a different state of affairs. By this convention Edward binds himself not to erect any fortresses on the English border north of the Tyne and the county of Cumberland, and on his part the Scottish King undertakes a similar obligation for the shires of Berwick, Roxburgh, and Dumfries "excluding the fortresses which had been made or were under construction (*en fesaunce*) at the time."[1]

A further generalisation is that the Scottish nobility impoverished by the war found themselves unable to continue the fashion of erecting castles like Dirleton or Bothwell and had to economise in square towers, models for which, it is even claimed, they had to find in northern England during their incursions into that territory. This latter contention can scarcely be taken seriously. The stone towers in northern England were as yet few. In any case with the great handsomely built circular towers of Dirleton, Bothwell, and other places in existence and square timber towers as prevalent features, the stimulus to erecting rectangular towers in stone did not require to be sought. Small towers[2] were common in the first third of the fourteenth century and therefore much earlier. The tower of Falkland was thrown down in 1336. The idea of the thing was perfectly familiar. And just in so far as these free standing towers within a comparatively low wall were now being erected in stone, we are, in terms of the case, noting an advance upon the timber tower, not a degeneration.

On the economic side the claim to degradation of style is similarly unacceptable. There is no reason to suppose that but for the War of Independence, Scotland would necessarily have been graced with a succession of buildings like its greater thirteenth century castles. As we have already seen, in the affluent days before that disastrous series of episodes, even great families like the Bruces of Annandale possessed nothing in the home district but structures at the best of timber and clay. De Morevilles, De Quinceys, De Soulis, and Umphravilles had nothing better. Yet so far there was no reason why they should not have furnished themselves with more costly castles of stone. And it must be pointed out that though the war involved impoverishment—probably even despite the chronicler's claim (Fordun) that with the spoils of Bannockburn the whole land of Scotland "abounded in infinite riches"—yet, as we know from our own experience is possible, to a fortunate few the upshot was an accession of wealth. The new nobility, Douglases, Keiths, Frasers, Setons, and the like, were richer in lands than they had ever been. The Douglases built the Tower of Threave in their new barony of Buittle; before 1375 Sir William Keith had built a tower at Dunnottar; in 1390 Sir Malcolm Drummond had licence to erect a tower at Kindrochit; but then King David himself, not a poor man, shifted from Cardross to a tower residence at Edinburgh Castle. This line of argument is astray from the mediaeval conception, in which the tower is no derogatory structure but rather an expression of baronial dignity and importance. At the end of the fourteenth century, in France, Jean V, Duke of Brittany, built himself a new residence, and that was the great square tower of Cesson, near Saint-Brieux, that could well be taken for a twelfth century donjon.[1]

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[1] *Act. Parl.*, I, p. 480. A condition of the truce in December, 1319, was that no new fortresses were to be made within the sheriffdoms of Berwick, Roxburgh, and Dumfries (Bain, III, No. 681).

[2] *Turrules; minuti turriculi.*

The turning-point in building history, so far as new structures are concerned, actually comes with the close of the fourteenth century in the abandonment of the general mote-and-bailey type of plan—with its great tower withdrawn to one corner of the enclosure and its irregular grouping of independent hall, chambers and offices—in favour of a plan involving a frontal combination of the principal buildings and a more regular disposition of the others in a courtyard behind. This form of castellated structure will be dealt with in a later chapter.

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[1] Enlart, *Manuel d'Archéologie Française*, II, p. 515.

CHAPTER III

THE PARTS OF THE CASTLE. I

Licences to build Fortalices and their significance—Public Defence or Private Safety—Question as to Strategic Disposition—The so-called "Keep"—Scottish use of "Donjon"—Bartizan : Crenellation : Machicolation—Range in Time of the Machicolated Parapet—Isolated Machicolation or Bretasche—Parapets and their Accesses—Allures or Parapet Walks—The Barmkin—Ditches and Earthworks—The Drawbridge : chronology of one type—The Barras—The Barbican—Iron "Yetts"—Towers or Rounds as Lodgings—The Question of Flanking Works—Window Openings—The Pit in "Pit and Gallows."

AT this stage it is desirable to put once more the question—what was a castle? The simplest answer seems to be that it was what the people of the time called by that name with an occasional variation to "house," as "the house of" Tantallon, Caerlaverock, etc., or "the King's house" of Stirling, or "Crichton Castle, Bothwell's chief house."[1] A special class was that of the tower or "fortalice" or "toure of fens" (defence), which will be treated in a separate chapter. The definition of these types, as distinct from all other houses, was that they were constructed and equipped with a view to defence.

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[1] There is a hard story regarding Bothwell Castle in 1498 when Archibald, Earl of Angus, was refused entrance by his lessee, John Nesbit of Dalzell, to "his house and Castell of Boithuile . . . he being thairat in propir persone askand entre in his sade house to have lugeit thareintill and was stoppit and haldin furth be the sade John wiffe and servandis in his name," etc. The matter was brought before the Lords of Council and Nesbit's lease was declared to have been thereby extinguished (*Acts of the Lords of Council*, *s.a.*, pp. 238-9).

They were fortified residences. The plea in a lawsuit of 1630 draws the line just there: "this House," it is argued, "was not a Tower or Fortalice . . . and had neither Fosse nor Barmkin-wall about it, nor Battling, but was only an ordinary house." [1]

But to the modern mind this broad distinction is not satisfying, particularly as what is military nowadays can be, and in practice is, sharply discriminated from what is not. It is therefore not easy to recognise a private residence, however elaborate, within a military exterior; though every country gentleman of the time who has left a sculptured effigy as a memorial appears, as a matter of course, in a full suit of plate armour such as he possibly never possessed or almost certainly rarely if ever put on. But such a representation was due to his rank; and so was his fortified house. And the point of view has shifted. "A castle," writes a contemporary authority on such mediaeval architecture, "is a military post, which may [2] include one or more dwelling places within its walls; the house which may be turned into a castle when occasion requires, is on a different footing." Remembering the appearance of the castle in all its strongly resented novelty and its slow transformation down the ages, till its military features became mere conventional ornament, we are surely led to realise that we are dealing not so much with a military post as with a special type of dwelling house. The "military architecture" of the middle ages is the architecture of a social class, and the religious great—bishops and abbots and priors—who also embattled their houses, did so for the most part to advertise their equal standing with the secular nobility. In our age of specialisation it is difficult to hold together the ideas of civil and military status, in respect of a residence, as a single thought, yet this must be done, if we are to appreciate the nature of the castle and of the time in which such a phenomenon could exist.

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[1] Durie's *Decisions*, p. 549.

[2] But cf. Sir Charles Oman's definition in footnote on p. 3. The castle "*must* be residential."

Nevertheless, much creditable ingenuity has been exercised upon finding a strictly military explanation of the constructive elements of a castle, with some embarrassment in regard to cases which plainly refuse to be so enlisted. Occasionally, however, the critical spirit finds expression, and we are told of a certain Welsh castle that "it violates several of the most important principles of mediaeval military construction."[1] Even what has been called "the golden age of English military architecture," the latter half of the thirteenth century is not without alloy: the defences of Caernavon, it has been pointed out, are "not completely covered by flanking towers;" the great baronial castle at Denbigh "from the point of view of the military architect" is disappointing and its gatehouse "singular"; while the "two portions" of Flint Castle (see Pl. III) are declared to be "not only not mutually helpful, but are so constituted as to be sources of danger to each other: were either captured by a besieger, the other would be immediately rendered untenable"[2] For such an inquisition it is likely that few if any Scottish castles would escape without condemnation.

Nor can any intrinsic distinction be made good as between royal and baronial castles. The king had his castles on his domain as his vassals had on theirs. In England the kings followed the policy of not only retaining their own castles but also when opportunity offered acquiring those of great nobles. In Scotland, however, the practice was for the kings in time to transfer royal castles to their keepers as hereditary property, retaining in their own hands only such as Edinburgh, Stirling, and Dumbarton.

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[1] *Inventory of Ancient Monuments in Carmarthen* (*Roy. Comm.*), p. 87.

[2] Harvey Wilson, *Castles and Walled Towns of England*, pp. 126, 145-6, 151.

Here arises the question whether the king exercised any control over the erection of castles, whether, in Sir George Mackenzie's words, " there was no Fort nor Strength, or *turris pinnata* call'd Tower-houses, allow'd to be build in Scotland, without an express Warrand under the King's own hand." This is not a statement of historic fact but purely an inference from the general principles of feudal law. There was no specific statute or regulation to that effect, as there was in England. The pronouncement of the learned Lord Advocate has been made familiar in the lines from *Marmion*, attributed to Archibald, Earl of Angus :—

> " My castles are my King's alone
> From turret to foundation stone."

Some colour is given to this proposition by the existence of royal licences to build a castle or fortalice. These appear either in the body of a charter including power to erect such a building or in the form of a special licence to that effect. No such licence is ever cited by the feudal writers, who, in the then state of the national records, had no access to them. The whole question is discussed at length elsewhere (see Appendix A) : here it is possible only to outline the results of the analysis.

The actual licences do little to substantiate the argument of the systematising feudal writers. For one thing they are too few—less than a score all told. The earliest is dated 1346, being for Dunnottar, and the latest for a fortalice strictly so called is of 1512 ; that is they span the period when legal forms were taking a hold upon Scotland. The earliest is in the most general terms possible: the Earl of Sutherland is granted the crag of Dunnottar with the power of building on the rock and constructing a fortalice upon it in any manner which may seem good to him. The later licences expand in specific description of the character of the building. In the next place a licence to build a fortalice might be issued by a subject-superior; there is one such by John, Earl of Ross in 1460 to the laird of Kilravock, and no question was ever raised as to its validity. It is further to be noted that the Cawdor licence contains the express proviso that the place should always be accessible to the king and his successors. This does not tally with the idea that a castle from its character and the assumed necessity of a permit for its erection was essentially royal property. Moreover, a licence was issued to Sir Andrew Wood of Largo in 1491 *after* his tower had been built.

An alternative explanation may be that such a licence merely witnessed to the fact that a fortalice, the normal type of landed residence, could not pass by charter as a pertinent of a gift of lands but had to be specifically conveyed. No more could a mill pass among pertinents, and so we have a licence to erect a mill and "aqueduct" or mill-lade. Therefore if a house of any sort not necessary to the labouring of the ground were not expressed in the gift or power not given to erect such, the title could be made good only by the issue of a special licence. From this point of view the matter is one of proper legal conveyance and had no reference to any royal restrictions upon the erection of fortalices as such. When in 1529 the king and his council wished to stop building upon the border, whether of fortalices or any other sort of house, in order to prevent trouble with England, they had to issue an injunction to that effect: there was no claim either to grant or recall a licence. Inferences from English or general feudal law have no bearing upon Scottish practice. The fact is that we are in a time when legal order was being established and litigation becoming common. Cosmo Innes remarks on " the amazing increase of law proceedings which crowd the older charter chests," as the fifteenth century draws to a close.[1]

One disturbing inference impressed upon us by some of the cases in question and by the fact that a licence is extended to heirs, is that the date of a licence does not necessarily give us the date of building. For example the Dunnottar licence is of 1346, but there is no evidence of anything having been built there till close on fifty years later, and for the tower then built there is no licence, though it caused controversy on other lines. The Inchgarvie licence of 1491 was never implemented by the grantee : the fortalice was erected nearly a quarter of a century later (see p. 140).

As to the case of Tantallon in Scott's lines we do not actually know how Bell-the-Cat would have expressed himself on such a claim, but we have a record of the attitude of his grandson and successor, Archibald the sixth Earl, in company with his brother and uncle in 1528. To the charge of treasonably equipping their " houses " of Tantallon, Cockburnspath, Newark, and Douglas against the king they replied that they did no more than was lawful " to ony man that hes ane hous quhare he and his houshald suld dwell, to have provisioune therin to spend and munitionis to kepe bath thame self and thar houses fra thar enemyis," pointing out that the only law bearing on the matter was one prescribing that the king's officers might enter a house to search for persons under suspicion, but that this did not imply an obligation to give up the house. It may fairly be surmised that Archibald Bell-the-Cat would have said much the same.

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[1] *Family of Kilravock*, p. 162.

In connection with the matter of public defence arises the question how far the position of a castle was affected by ideas of strategy—that it should defend some important road or crossing or pass, or stand in some strategic relation to another castle. Claims of this kind have been put forward, and some castles do certainly occupy positions which may be spoken of as strategical: Stirling is one, near to the lowest practicable fords on the Forth; another is Lochmaben at the junction of the Annandale road with that leading to Nithsdale, now followed by the railway. On the other hand, some of the most strategical sites in Scotland never boasted a castle. Perth was the main English base in the country in the days of the wars of independence: the English fortified the town in the fourteenth century as they did Haddington in the sixteenth century—the latter a position so strategically valuable that to keep it was held to be the winning of Scotland;[1] but neither place figures in the annals of Scottish castle-building. Linton Bridge was the inevitable place of passage on the lower Tyne, but it was never fortified. Strategy was not professedly cultivated as a feature of mediaeval warfare, at least not to the extent assumed in this connection. There is the less reason to expect any such consideration to mark the selection of a site for a baronial castle. That was settled mainly by the occurrence of what was taken to be a suitable position in some quarter of the barony and had no reference to any other principle.[2] Licences to erect a fortalice where none such existed before leave the site entirely to the option of the grantee.

But on the whole issue of national defence by means of castles there is this important qualification that it formed no part of Scottish military policy. The lesson of the War of Independence that such methods were unsuited to Scottish conditions was never forgotten. The Scottish nobles summed up the case in these words to Queen Elizabeth: "Our histories and experience of all ages teach us that fortresses have never preserved this realm from invasion, yea the chief cause that we have so long continued a free kingdom has been the lack of them, an enemy finding no place to plant himself."[1]

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[1] *Ham. Papers*, II, p. 603.

[2] Sir Charles Oman comes to the same conclusion in regard to English baronial castles, with certain specific exceptions (*Art of War*, Vol. II, p. 22).

I

The remains of buildings of this class in Scotland amount to something over 800 examples including many in a merely fragmentary condition. It is quite out of the question to deal with these individually; nor is it desirable except in an inventory. The features more or less common to all can be dealt with more summarily.

On the very threshold we are met with the feature known as the Keep. None receives more frequent mention in current descriptions of mediaeval castles, a fact all the more strange in that the word is not itself of mediaeval use. Its general mediaeval equivalent is *turris* or *donjon,* and as each term has its English form in "tower" or "dungeon" which completely meets the case, there seems to be no advantage in substituting an outsider. No serious writer has yet committed the vandalism of speaking of the Keep of London instead of the historically-consecrated term The Tower; nor is it to be desired that David's Tower in Edinburgh Castle should suffer eclipse as David's Keep. Yet there is no reason why these should be free from the re-christening which has been performed in every other case, and which further dissolves the whole web of associations and significance associated with so mediaeval an erection as a baronial tower. The word in a military sense does not appear in English till about the end of the sixteenth century, and is used of some uncertain construction called a *tenazza* " outside the castle " of Milan. The *New English Dictionary* suggests its origin as a direct translation of the Italian word, but it seems to be simply the substantive use of the native word in the sense of " protection." In John Florio's *Worlde of Wordes,* published in 1598, the Italian word *tenazza,* not to be found in any modern Italian dictionary, is explained as " a little houlde or keepe made of one bulwarke or courtine." Neither " bulwark " nor " curtain " can be held to signify a tower. The sense of " keep " has obviously been greatly exalted. The popularity of the term is an inheritance from the romantic age of mediaeval study which could not be content with plain terms for anything. But we can see that the Scottish historical writer, Gilbert Stuart, in 1778,[1] was closer than its modern patrons to the root meaning of the word, when he translates the phrase *in claustro turris* by " in the Keep of the Tower," where " keep " is the enclosing wall, something quite different from the significance that has since been imposed upon the word.

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[1] *Cal. of Scottish Papers,* I, p. 432.

The truth is that the word Keep, as now used, expresses not so much a thing as a notion. We can thus be presented with a class of " keepless castles," though such castles are quite complete in themselves. The notion is that each castle had or might be expected to have a specially strong position which could be treated as a place of final defence, holding out after the rest of the buildings had been lost to the besiegers. The most obvious place of this character was the great tower. What would happen when the body of the castle consisted of two towers similar in character and dimensions, as in French examples, is not stated. Enlart notes that *un second donjon* was added to the castle of Falaise by the English in 1420.[1] Dirleton Castle once had three large towers, practically of equal size. That the mediaeval builder concentrated upon or directed his design to provision for a last stand of the defenders cannot be directly proved. That there might be an effort to hold the great or any other tower after the rest had been lost, is nothing to the contrary. John Barbour supplies a case at Roxburgh, when Douglas surprised the place on Fastern Eve, 1314 (cf. p. 38). The English commander, seeing the enclosure lost, betook himself with some of his company into " the gret toure," where he " set his mycht for till defende the tour," but could hold it for only two days. The account from the English side is that the Scots had taken " the whole castle except one tower to which, with difficulty, the warden of the castle had escaped." [2] It cannot be called a leading case. Such a thing might well happen: the point is that the tower was not put there with that particular resource in view and no more. Nor did Scottish nobles, as a rule, care to act upon the keep theory. The Earl of Angus was not within Tantallon when the placed was besieged by James V; nor was the Earl of Douglas in the Threave when it surrendered to James II. In such a contingency you never found "the lion in his den, the Douglas in his hall" (cf. p. 200).

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[1] *Observations Concerning the Public Law and the Constitutional History of Scotland* (1778), p. 218.

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[1] *Manuel d'Archéologie Franaçise*, II, p. 544. Observe too that Viollet le Duc writes : " There is no feudal castle without a donjon, as of old there was no strong town without a castle, and as in our time there is no place of war without a citadel " (*Dictionnaire*, etc., V, p. 34). On the other hand, Enlart speaks freely of " Castles without a donjon " as well as of a group of castles with two donjons (as cited, p. 523).

[2] *Chron. de Lanercost*, p. 223.

Another method of reaching after the same notion is to point out that in time residential accommodation was provided in the castle "external to the keep," after which the tower in question was discarded as a habitation and built only as a refuge in case of siege. Proof of this is sought in the fact that "during the thirteenth century many keeps were reported as dilapidated and roofless."[1] This was surely a most extraordinary method of providing a refuge. It must be added that the residential parts of a castle always, from time to time, needed an overhaul, and that a place left in a condition unfit for occupation was equally unsuited for defence. Further, instructions for repair do not bear out the conclusion put forward. Thus in the reign of Henry III "the constable of Winchester Castle is ordered to roof and repair the King's houses in the great tower, the Jew's tower, and the principal chamber of the donjon, which was wont to be the King's wardrobe, and the houses of the other tower and the King's hall and chambers." It is clear that the existence of an outside hall and chambers does not preclude the residential use of the great tower. Such additional buildings were provided from a very early date in the history of the castle. The underlying idea that mediaeval nobles disliked living in a tower is wholly beside the mark. A tower was the simplest way of providing a private suite of rooms. For Scotland such an extravagant avoidance of a habitable tower, as these writers postulate, is inconceivable and cannot be shown to have occurred. Even what remained of the wrecked great tower at Bothwell was patched up to provide a series of small awkwardly shaped rooms. No one in Scotland had so much of the White Knight in him as to maintain an empty house on the chance of its coming into use in the event of a siege.[1]

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[1] Harvey's *Castles and Walled Towns of England*, pp. 7-8, 66.

With regard again to the mere use of the words, it must surely be obvious that to translate *turris* indiscriminately by "keep," as is done, destroys the very notion which it is sought to establish: if every "tower" is a "keep," then the word "keep" is of no special significance. Historically, etymologically, and in every other way the plain "tower" is to be preferred (cf. further on the general question, Appendix B).

What was known as "the great tower" is often distinguished as the *donjon*, but in Scotland this word is also used generally for a tower as such,[2] that indeed being its earlier meaning, as we saw at the beginning. In 1543 it was reported to England that Sir George Douglas's son had "got himself into *a* dungeon" of Dalkeith Castle,[3] where there were several towers, and the phrase indicates one of these; while in the sixteenth century we hear of the "grit (great) dungeoun" of the Castle of Seton, indicating that one which was the great tower.[4]

Another word, the significance of which must be cleared up, is *Bartizan*. It is currently used to denote the small open turret corbelled out over the angle of

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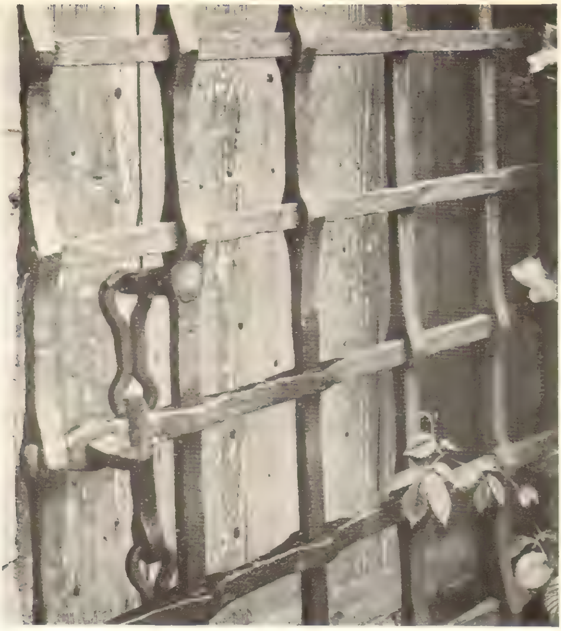
[1] Cf. for a different judgment, based on the extreme form of the keep idea, this on Kildrummy: "The Snow Tower or donjon (as usual in castles of this period) was only a citadel, and would probably be unoccupied except during a siege" (*The Castle of Kildrummy*, by W. Douglas Simpson, p. 80).

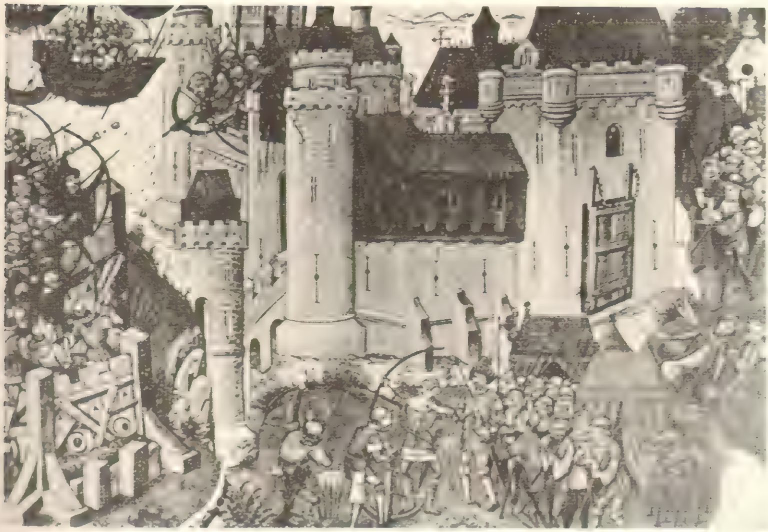
[2] Cf. in Burns' *The Brigs of Ayr*, "The drowsy Dungeon-Clock had number'd two," which in an early draft reads, "The drowsy steeple-clock, etc."

[3] Sadler, *State Papers*, I, 332.

[4] Maitland's *History of the House of Seytoun* (Maitland Club), pp. 37, 45.



IRON YETT (p. 99)



SIEGE OF A CASTLE IN FRANCE
From an Illustration of *c.* 1480, showing Wooden Affixes (p. 91)

a building with battlements (see Pl. XXVII and Pl. XXVIII). The *New English Dictionary* affirms that the word in this form was "apparently first used by Sir Walter Scott and due to a misconception of a seventeenth century illiterate Sc(ottish) spelling of Bertisene for bartising, i.e. bretising or bratticing." But there is no reason for fathering this particular form upon Scott, or describing as "illiterate" a spelling which Scott could find in quite good literary sources, or dubbing it "a spurious modern antique." The transition in Scots from "bartising" to "bartisene" is normal, and can be paralleled by that from "alluring" to "allerine" (cf. p. 92).[1] The minister of Kirkhill, Inverness-shire in the *Wardlaw, MS.*,[2] describes in Cromwell's citadel at Inverness a great square building in the centre as having "a wide bartisan at top"; Lord Stair in his *Institutions of the Law of Scotland* (1678),[3] writes of "castles with bartizens"; and from a seventeenth century history of the Herries' family (Maxwell) we hear that Robert, second Lord Maxwell (1452-88), "compleated the bartisan of Caerlaverock."[4] At Blackness Castle in 1693 a wall an ell high and 2 feet thick was to be raised about a platform "lyke to a bartizaine"; in another account relating to the same place bartizan seems to be used in the sense of the parapet walk upon the fore wall—it was to be of "good pavement." This extension of meaning is understandable. Probably it is due to Scott, however, that this form of the word appears in modern English use for the same feature as in Scotland. In fact this application of it was probably borrowed from England in recent times, as Scott himself does not give this particular significance,[1] and the other cases cited show that it was not current here in that sense. When Hugh Miller in 1834 speaks of small turrets on a tower being "connected by hanging bartisans," he means by battlements projected on corbels.

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[1] Both *fechting* and *fechtyn* occur in *The Bruce*.

[2] 1666-99: *S.T.S.*, p. 414.

[3] Bk. II, Tit. III, S. 66. More fully Stair's words are: "bartizens or bands, that is, strong and high walls surrounding the castle." It is possible, therefore, that he uses bartizan for the wall as a whole. The Herries historian also may do the same, since later on he speaks of a Maxwell Castle in Dumfries "with a bartizan about the same" (as cited below, p. 297).

[4] *Minutes of Evidence in Herries' Peerage*, p. 296.

The original form of the word is the French *bretesche* or *bretasche,* Latinised as *bretagium.* A *bretagium* was fitted to the peel in Stirling Castle in 1337, and a carpenter was employed in making doors and *bretasches* for Edinburgh Castle in 1339-40. It is claimed, very probably correctly, that the root is the German *brett,* a board, and "board" or timber work it certainly was in origin. At first the word was applied to a timber house.[2] We did not have it in this sense in Scottish construction. By the fourteenth century, however, the term had been limited to a projecting timber platform on a tower or a wall. An illustration from a fourteenth century MS.[3] shows us what is referred to as a *bertesce* of this type on the gate "above the ditch" (*desouz les fossez*). The word in popular use has suffered metathesis or interchange of the letters *e* and *r*, giving *bertesce* for *bretesche.* Such a construction in this position gave command over a gateway or the face and base of a wall. A wooden platform of this sort was also known as a *hourd.*[4] A distinction, however, has been made to the effect that a hourd was a continuous wooden gallery at the head of a wall, while a bretasche was an isolated small covered chamber. The construction, however, was in both cases the same. This difference seems to be borne out by the statement that the carpenter at Edinburgh Castle was making " bretasches." If now we continue the bretasche in the fashion of a hourd, we get *bretasching* or *bratticing*. The circuit of the dungeon at Alnwick Castle, in the survey of 1586, is " measured by the brattiseing " or as we should now say by the battlements. The alternative form as " bartasing " occurs in the Linlithgow Palace accounts, appearing also as " barteisine." This explains the statement as to Caerlaverock, where there is no single feature to be called " *the* bartizan " ; what is meant is the battlements.

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[1] In the *Heart of Midlothian*, chap. xxiv, Scott speaks of "a half-circular turret battlemented, or to use the appropriate phrase, bartisan'd on the top."

[2] See Armitage, Appendix G.

[3] *Archæological Journal*, Vol. I, p. 304.

[4] In the accounts for English rebuilding of Edinburgh Castle in 1335 are items regarding bands for the gate under "le hurdys."

It follows then that the use of the word for the projecting corner of a battlement is quite modern. In Scotland we seem to have had no special name for that any more than England had. In the contract for work at Heriot's Hospital in 1645 these features, roofed in as angle turrets, are specified as Rounds, the clause reading : " And sall rease the thrie roundis upon the north wast Tower conforme to the ordour of the north east roundis." " Open round " may therefore pass as a sufficient description. In the accounts for Blackness Castle in 1693 there is a specification " for placing *the round which oversyles the wall* " in dimensions and construction with no mention of roofing ; it was finished with hewn tabling. In France, however, such a feature was known as an *échauguette* or *guérite*, the older *garite*, a post for a watchman or sort of sentry-box. As roofed it is the origin of " garret " in the modern sense. Richmond Castle, Yorkshire, is described in the *Wallace* as having " turrettis fayr and garrettis of gret pryd." [1]

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[1] XIII, l. 1014.

Thus a watchman in Scotland was known as a "garitour": Gavin Douglas writes of the castle in his poem *King Hart*:—

> "Fayr Calling is grit garitour on hicht,
> That watchis ay the wallis hie abone."

In the accounts he is a *garitarius*: Stirling Castle is credited in 1461 with six watchmen (*vigiles*) and one *garitarius*, the garitour being, we infer from other entries, for the daytime, the others for the night.[1]

We must now take up again the subject of the bratticing or bartizan from the stage when it was still a timber work at the wall head. The crest of a wall was a breastwork or parapet at least man-height; in examples outside Scotland often much higher. But battlements as a rule do not last well, and survivals here are comparatively few or very much broken. The parapet was divided into solids or *merlons* and voids known as *crenelles*, or, in both Scots and English, as "kernels," the word suffering the same transposition of letters as bartizan. Frequently in Scotland, too, kernels is an equivalent of battlements as a whole. Originally the battlemented parapet rose flush with the wall, but the necessity of commanding its face in the event of an effort to climb by ladders—an escalade—or its base where undermining or breaching might be going on, led to affixing the projecting covered platform which has been just described as a bretasche or a hourd. Spaces were left open between the supporting struts, through which missiles might be dropped and such things, according to a case in Jean le Bel, a fourteenth century historian, as stones, quicklime, and burning material.

Where such a construction was imposed, holes had to be left in the masonry for the beams upon which it rested. This explanation has been offered for the three rows of holes and indentations at the top of the wall on three sides of Threave (see p. 186). But three close rows are too many, and there is so far no structural explanation of this feature. The next stage was to provide the main supports in the form of permanent stone brackets or corbels, but of this particular provision only isolated examples survive, as over the doorway at Bothwell and Threave. These would thus answer to the limited significance of bretesche. Finally the timber construction, always liable to be set on fire, is abandoned and the parapet itself carried forward upon the corbels. The spaces between these may still be left open, in which case we have the feature known as *machicolation* or in Scotland *mach(e)coling* (see Pl. IX).

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[1] The form is *garratores* for Tantallon in 1531 (*R.M.S.*, No. 1049).

Such a finish in stone to the curtain or tower walls does not become general in northern France and England till the fourteenth century.[1] At Conway Castle in Wales, begun in 1285, there have been stone machicolations along the short wall at each end, in which was an entrance, but nowhere else on curtain or tower. Bodiam Castle in Sussex, which was licensed for crenellation in 1386, has machicolations only above its entrance tower on each front, and there only on the parts which project from the line of the wall. At Lancaster of the later fourteenth century the gatehouse towers are fully machicolated. This feature at Bothwell and Caerlaverock helps to mark the parts affected as at least not earlier than that date. There is a noteworthy difference between the method of construction at the two places. At Caerlaverock the corbels are spanned by lintels, whereas in the south-east tower at Bothwell they are linked up by arches, a rare fashion in Scotland but very common in southern France.

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[1] See Viollet-le-Duc on Hourd, Machicoulis; Enlart, II, p. 476; Armitage, p. 372.

In Scotland machicolated parapets do not seem to occur before the fifteenth century and are confined to that period. There is nothing of the sort at Tantallon, which was in existence by 1374. At Doune, which is of the last years of the same century, the parapets of the curtain do not project, and the only machicolation is carried forward over the postern. Some tower examples are instructive. Clackmannan Tower (Pl. XXVII) is of two periods: the earlier portion, dating apparently from the late fourteenth century, has parapets projecting on corbels without machicolations; the later part has machicolated parapets. About a hundred years later at Saddell Tower, a house of the Bishop of Argyll built in or soon after 1508, machicolation is restricted to the corners of the parapet, while at Rusco Tower, Kirkcudbrightshire, dated 1514, not merely is there no continuous machicolation, but the corbels of the parapet are placed chequer-wise, whereby the lower members besides blocking any possibility of interspaces do not even serve a structural purpose, so that the arrangement must be set down as purely ornamental. Such chequer or alternate corbelling is to be seen also at various other places—Edzell, for example, Craignethan, and the tower on Little Cumbrae.

Obviously then we have passed the stage at which such a defensive provision could be considered necessary. It is even probable that other ideas predominated over that of defence, that a machicolated crown to a tower or breastwork on a wall meant in the few cases we have in Scotland little more than an imposing show, a bit of feudal bravery, as le Duc remarks is frequently the case in the castellated structures of southern France and Italy.[1] On the south-east tower at Bothwell the ring of machicolations is carried even over the roof of the

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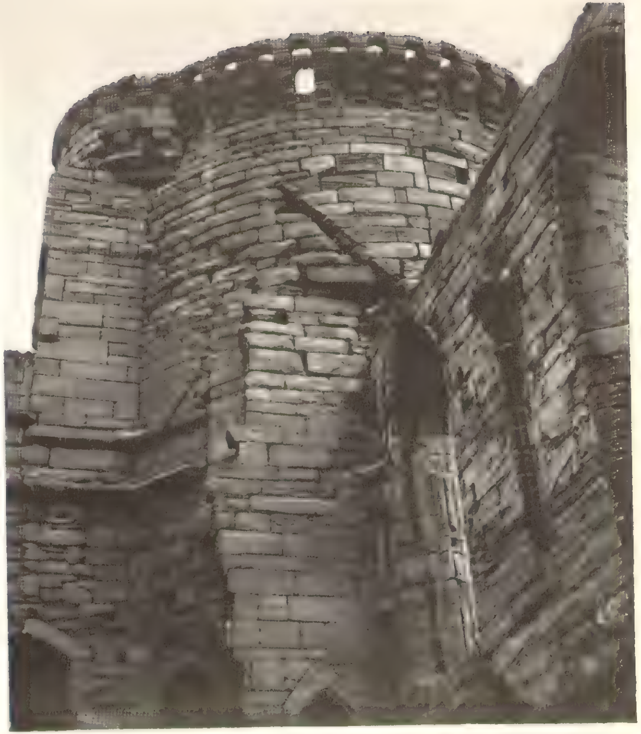
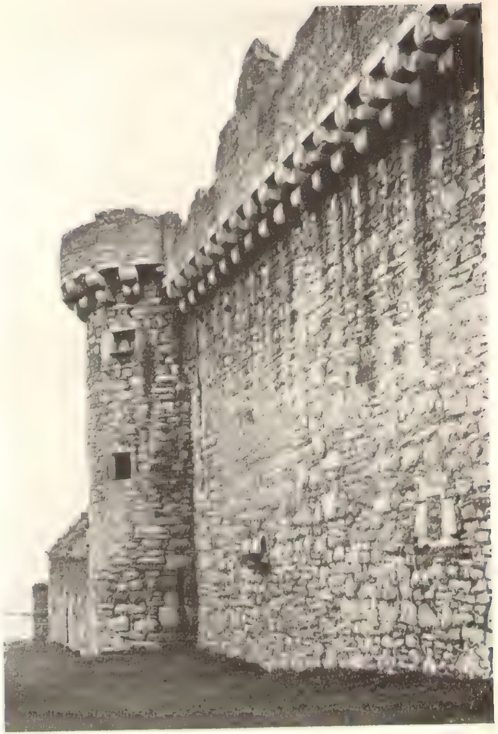
[1] VI, p. 210.

PLATE IX



BOTHWELL S.E. TOWER



CRAIGMILLAR

MACHICOLATED PARAPETS

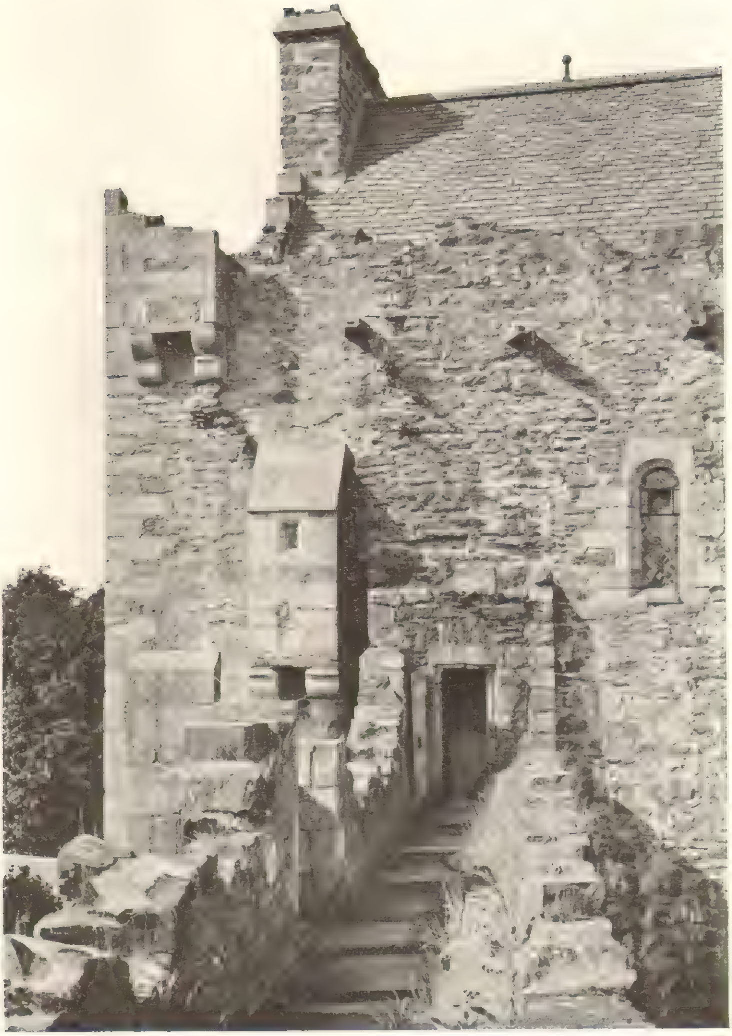
chapel, where they could be of no service ; and the machicolations round water-logged Caerlaverock seem an excess of precaution. Both buildings, however, gain in dignity and general effect by such a finish, and it need not be sternly assumed that such an idea was absent from the minds of their designers. That the ornamental quality of a machicolated parapet was actually then realised is shown by the presence of this feature on each of the western towers of St. Machar's Cathedral, Aberdeen, which date from the second quarter of the fifteenth century. It was not put there in expectation of a possible close-up assault in arms.

Where machicolation was not continuous it was usual to have something of the kind at least over a door, either at the level of the parapet, as in the case of the sixteenth century tower at Urquhart Castle on Loch Ness or Kismul Castle in Barra—in the latter it is of a very simple type above both the general entrance and the tower door ; or specially corbelled out just above the door as at Lochranza Castle, Arran. These limited cases, as at Bothwell and Threave, are of the nature of bretasches as already defined but now executed in stone. At Stapleton Tower, Dumfriesshire, of the late sixteenth century, there are two small machicolations in the solid corbel table where it passes over the doorway, but they are so small as to be useless for any serious purpose.

Before leaving this matter of wooden affixes to the outer wall, we must note another class of which indications are found. This consisted of a projecting chamber like a bretesche but wholly for residential use. Such constructions are familiar in mediaeval illustrations of castles (see Pl. VIII) and one can be seen even in Slezer's view of Linlithgow Palace in 1798. Here it is of the seventeenth century, being corbelled out on the north face of the tower, the upper part of which was reconstructed at that time. We can trace the former presence of these outside appendages by the surviving corbels or holes in the wall for the supporting beams, as we see them on the south face of Craigmillar or the long building to the south at Dunnottar. From their position and character we can infer these to have been intended as places of pleasant resort with a fine view over the countryside and if possible in a sunny quarter.

The usual way of reaching the parapet was from the towers, and at Bothwell the walk has been roofed for a little distance from the entry. At Tantallon there were in addition stairs from the courtyard in the thickness of the wall. On the other hand, there was no access to the parapet from the towers at Caerlaverock, so that it must have been reached by an outside stair, as was also the case at Lochleven, where the position of the stairs is still discernible. Such outside stairs, however, rarely survive. When the houses were built against the walls of Caerlaverock, even these disappeared, and no means of access to the parapet is now to be found. Indeed on the outside wall of the seventeenth century house on the east the parapet itself has disappeared and its corbels have become a mere decorative cornice.

The parapet walk was known as an *allure;* in the case of Linlithgow we have it in the generalised form of *alluring*, which, by 1683, in the accounts for repairs at Blackness, has become *allerine*. Between the outer parapet in front and the low rear wall the walk did not offer a wide platform for operations or allow of any massing of defenders at a threatened point. These limitations are very obvious at Doune, where the parapet is carried up flush with the face of the wall, which is 8 feet thick. Sometimes we find the walk has been extended inwards to give more room, as corbels surviving on the inner side show at Caerlaverock and Bothwell. Usually it was laid with overlapping flagstones,



PARAPET WALK, CASTLE DOUNE

Kitchen tower (p. 145) behind: garderobe flues on outer wall (p. 105)

whereby the water could be drained to spouts, which threw it clear of the wall. If, however, there were machicolations, spouts would not be necessary. On the other hand, water draining down the face of the wall is not good for masonry, and, dull as it may seem, this quite possibly led to the practice of machicolation being abandoned.

The high walls framing the interior of a castle are known as the *curtains;* in Scotland, we learn from Lord Stair (as cited, p. 85), they were known also as *bands.* Such walls varied in height from about 25 feet, as at Caerlaverock, to twice as much at Tantallon. Their thickness, too, varied considerably, as also did the thickness of tower walls: there is no discernible reason why Bothwell tower should have walls 15 feet thick and Dirleton main tower, of the same century, walls of only 10. But a 15 foot wall seems to have been thought necessary to a really first-class structure of this kind. In the thirteenth century French poem, *Le Roman de la Manekine,* in which part of the action takes place in Scotland, the king says to his master-builder: "I wish you to make me here a great tower of stone and good mortar, completely round and with good thick walls 15 feet thick or more."[1] There appears to be no rule governing either one dimension or the other.

A low wall, from 9 to 12 feet high, usually surrounded a single tower or linked it with the out-buildings, and the enclosure so formed was known as a *barnekin, barmekin,* or *barmkyn*—the word has various spellings. An account of the capture of Lochwood Tower, in Annandale, in 1547, makes this clear, and illustrates some other things we have just been discussing: "We came there about an hour before day; and the greater part of us lay close without the barnekin: but about a dozen of the men got over the barnekin wall, and stole close into the house within the barnekin, and took the wenches and kept them secure in the house till daylight. And at sunrising, two men and a woman being in the tower, one of the men rising in his shirt, and going to the tower head, and seeing nothing stir about, he called on the wench that lay in the tower, and bade her rise and open the tower door and call up them that lay beneath. She so doing and opening the iron door, and a wood door without it,[1] our men within the barnekin brake a little too soon to the door; for the wench perceiving them, leaped back into the tower, and had gotten almost the wood door to, but one got hold of it that she could not get it close to; so the skirmish rose, and we over the barnekin and broke open the wood door, and she being troubled with the wood door left the iron door open, and so we entered and won the Loghwood." Such a wall again appears on three sides of Threave tower, where it has low corner towers 9 feet in diameter within walls 4½ feet thick, and, in the complete example, three stories high. From the character of the building we can infer that it was of later date than the tower itself: it may have been a substitute for an earlier palisade. A construction at the earlier Falkland is described as "*le bermkin* wall."[2] A barmekin, however, takes on a rather more serious aspect in the instruction by the Scottish Parliament in 1535, whereby every man in the border districts of £100 rental, new valuation, was to build one in a convenient place for himself and his tenants; it was to be of stone and lime, 60 feet square with walls 18 feet 6 inches high, and the laird was to have a tower within it for himself, if he thought expedient. Such a structure would approximate to an early type of castle, less crenellation and such other defensive features, which are not specified.

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[1] Maistres, fait il, je vous requier
Que de piere et de bon mortier
Me faites ci une grant tour,
Qui soit reonde tout entour;
Les murs faites bons et espés
De xv piés ou plus d'espés.

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[1] Cf. p. 100.

[2] 1513, *Exch. Rolls*, XIII, p. 505.

II

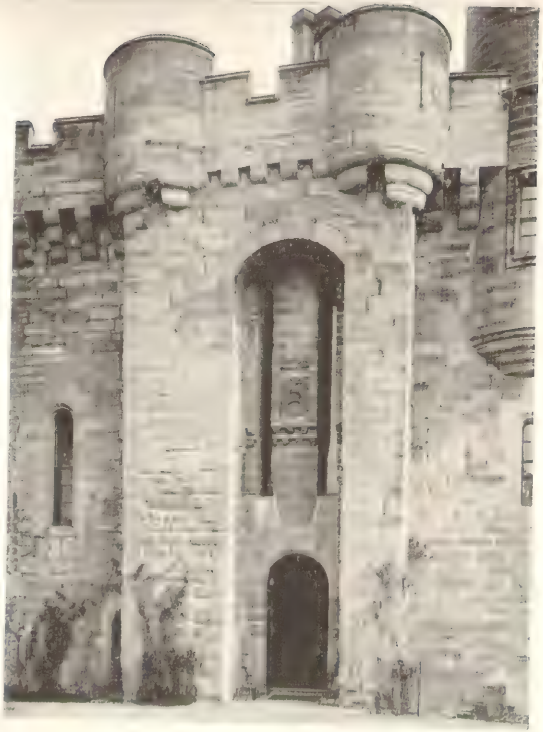
The entrance to a castle was inevitably the weakest place and obstacles were therefore multiplied about it. But even apart from considerations of defence, the demands of privacy and dignity had to be considered. Thus the great ditch fronting or surrounding a castle served all these ends. It was defensive because it was an obstacle, but a ditch in mediaeval times was also a conventional boundary. Linlithgow Palace was not a strictly military structure, but it had a ditch; Bruce's park at Cardross was enclosed with a wooden fence and a ditch; even the yard of the poor widow in one of the *Canterbury Tales* was surrounded by a fence of "sticks" and a dry ditch.

A castle ditch was filled with water where a supply was available. Island sites were of course already supplied. Otherwise the ditch being dry relied upon its width and depth. Where a castle stood upon a promontory position, flanked by steep rocks or by water, only the neck need be ditched across, as at Tantallon or Morton: where, as at Dunnottar or similar places, it was completely isolated no artificial trenching was necessary. Further ditches or earthworks might be added, and some places, like Torthorwald and probably Doune, seem to have been raised within a prehistoric series of ditches and mounds. In many cases, however, of minor importance, a ditch was not considered necessary. The special cases of an interior ditch at Bothwell and Urquhart have been dealt with in an earlier chapter (see p. 55).

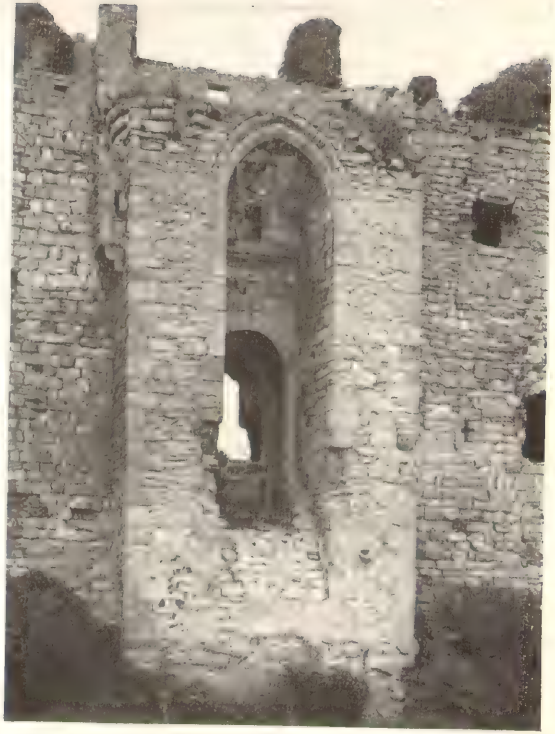
The ditch was crossed by a bridge, which in whole or in part could be raised, generally so as to lie against the inner entrance. This was the drawbridge, which swung on an axle at the threshold and was lifted by a chain or chains at the outer end on a windlass in a room above, or by means of beams or gaffs which, when raised, lay back in long grooves and could be more easily and rapidly worked with a counter-weight. At Caerlaverock one can see the opening above the door through which the single chain worked; Dalhousie Castle, Midlothian, offers a good example of the grooves for the gaffs. We have seen a smaller variety of this type at Bothwell with a single beam and spur-shaped attachment, and there was a spur also at Tulliallan in Fife. This type with gaffs does not come into common use before the fourteenth century. St. Andrews shows a single surviving chase over the old entrance in the fore tower; the other has been long built up. Through each passed a great beam swinging on a central pivot to raise or lower the bridge. At Dunscaith on the south side of Skye the drawbridge is of quite another sort. The ravine between the castle rock and the mainland is spanned by a bridge, 6 feet wide, of a single arch. The footway of the bridge, however, for a distance of 8 feet was supplied only by a wooden floor swung upon a beam, the holes for which appear at the inner extremity of the gap. Just beyond was a door opening to the stair.

George Fox, the Quaker, tells us in his *Journal* that, when he entered Scotland in 1657, before he came to Dumfries, a neighbouring Earl invited him to a visit at his mansion and in doing so explained that of the three drawbridges the last would be "drawn" at 9 o'clock. The place must have been Caerlaverock,

PLATE XI



DALHOUSIE



DIRLETON

XIII Century work to left of entrance piers and in lower courses to right

ENTRANCES

where, however, three drawbridges would not, in its present condition, be suspected. Nine o'clock was a late hour for the dimly-lighted mansions of the period, and we see that the raising of the drawbridge was as much a matter of routine as the locking of the front door.

Following out the principle of providing obstacles to access, the castle occupants might erect before the gate a low enclosure, generally of timber, known as the *barras*. At Edinburgh Castle, however, there was a barras wall of stone, and the area within was almost another ward, as in it, by the early sixteenth century, was a chapel just under the walls, known as the " chapel of the barres." But a stone structure here was exceptional. Round the barras occurred the preliminary struggle in the attack upon the castle : " And mony tymes ysche thai wald And bargane at the barras hald," as Barbour says of the opening of the siege of Kildrummy.

An outer gateway or gate tower connected with the main gateway by parallel walls was known as a *barbican*. This was quite an early feature, evidence of which can be seen in the mote-and-bailey type of castle, as in the illustration of Dinant, while the mound devoted to the outer gateway beyond the ditch in front of the entrance is obvious on the plan of the original Huntly Castle. Barbican walls were built out from the entrance at Urquhart Castle to the brink of the ditch where it was reached by the bridge. Each of these walls had a door near the inner end. There is a doorway at the inner end of one side of the barbican at Kildrummy, where the barbican is probably a fifteenth century addition. The name can be used also to indicate any prolonging of the entrance passage by additional structures. We see an example of the lengthened entrance at Dirleton, where, in the fifteenth century, a passage has been built out in front of the older gateway flush with the wall. A more elaborate one occurs at Tantallon. The original entry under the Mid Tower was lofty and wide ; the outer arch round, the inner pointed. It lay within two massive stone piers rising to circular turrets and connected above by an arch at the level of the parapets. Between the piers and in front of the door yawned a recess spanned by a drawbridge. Later on barbican walls were run out from either side, and later still the barbican was enclosed by a new work—easily discernible from having been built with a rather soft variety of volcanic stone—which continued the lines of the original piers in a rounded front and likewise filled in the greater part of the original entrance, so as to leave but a narrow passage inwards on one side. In the base of this new work was an apartment on the level of the ditch, upon which it opened in a door at either side : one of these doors was subsequently filled in except for a shot-hole. A stair led down from entrance level to this apartment, the only purpose of which can have been to allow access to the bottom of the ditch. This was to treat the ditch as a covered way, a hidden exit or approach. From a seventeenth century inventory we learn that the castle had four iron gates distributed along this passage as well as a portcullis ("perculieris"). A portcullis was a heavy wooden grating shod with iron, which slid up and down in a groove, being worked from a room above. Such a room with the slots for the passage of the portcullis can be seen above the entrance at Caerlaverock. Usually drawbridge and portcullis were worked from the same apartment or from a recess in the wall, as at Tulliallan, where both were on a small scale. At Caerlaverock the passage or pend has been extended by additions at both front and back. There are indeed grooves in the pend for three portcullises if not four, besides evidence of five doors not, of course, all in use at one time. A feature of the Dirleton entrance is a round aperture in the vault of the trance opening from the apartment above. It is tempting to treat this as a machicolation through which to drop harmful material upon assailants who had penetrated so far. On the other hand, must be considered such an English case as Chepstow Castle, where five such openings appear in the entrance passage, a lavish provision for the purpose of annoyance, while at Hawarden Castle there are two in a similar position. These examples have raised a doubt as to the precise intention of such apertures.

The later extension and stiffening of defences at the entrance may be presumed to follow upon the appearance of siege artillery or bombards. The entry was always the weaker spot in the defences and the wooden gate, uplifted drawbridge, and single portcullis with an outer barricade of timber could no longer be regarded as offering sufficient resistance. Hence probably the extensions in stone, the narrowing of the entry, and the multiplication of inward obstacles.

While the portcullis was a usual defensive feature in the larger castles, where its mechanism could be conveniently installed, its place in towers was taken by what must have been an even more formidable obstacle in the form of an " iron yett " or gate, formed of iron bars which penetrated each other horizontally and vertically in alternate compartments. That is, their construction was roughly in this way. So many flat bars were vertical, so many horizontal. Each set was carefully bored at the proper distances for half its length. The bored halves of one set of bars received the unbored halves of another, and the whole were then clamped together by four outside bars, locking either at top and bottom or on the sides. The illustration will make this clear. Such a yett was hung within a wooden door, the closing of which allowed of time for its companion of iron to be swung into place, before the weaker defence could be broken through (cf. p. 94). The wooden door opened outwards. At night both doors were closed. So difficult to deal with were these iron yettis that in 1606 the Privy Council ordered their destruction in all strong places on the Borders, save those of responsible barons. The material was to be "turnit in plew irnis or sic other necessar werk." Some still survive, that at Comlongon Tower still in place, as is also that in the tower at Coxton. There is one also at Ellandonan Castle in Lochalsh, and others at different places throughout the country. At Doune is a two-leaved example which was provided with a smaller gate or wicket. Yetts of this class are known in northern England, but the particular mode of their construction in our examples seems to be peculiar to Scotland.[1]

In all castles the janitor or porter was an important official; the larger castles would have more than one. A room near the entrance served as a lodge. It was the janitor s duty in the first case to grant or refuse immediate entrance to arrivals, a task of great responsibility.

It was usual in the larger castles to have a small side entrance or postern. At Dunbar, we learn from the account of the siege in 1337, the postern had a portcullis; such was the case also at Kildrummy. At Doune it is warded by a machicolation above. At Dunnottar it opens on the steep hidden slope reaching down to the south bay. At Duntulm in Skye it is a sea gate. Bothwell has one in the south curtain overlooking the river gorge: it had a portcullis (Pl. XII).

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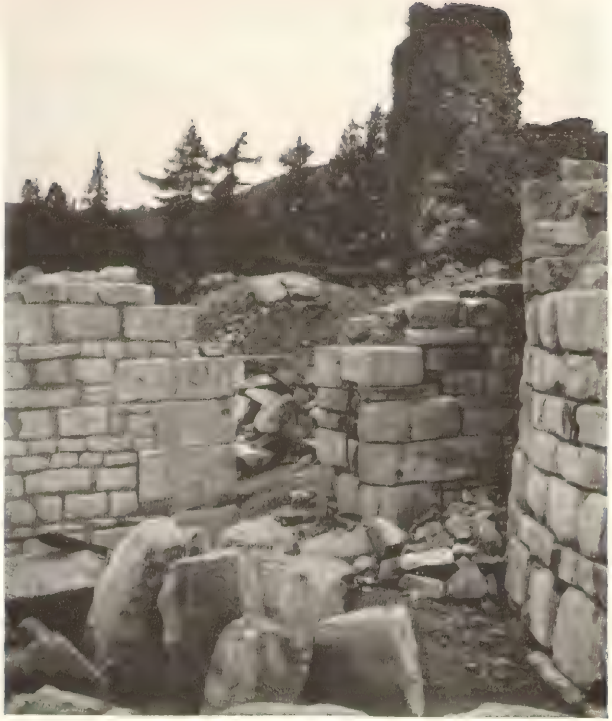
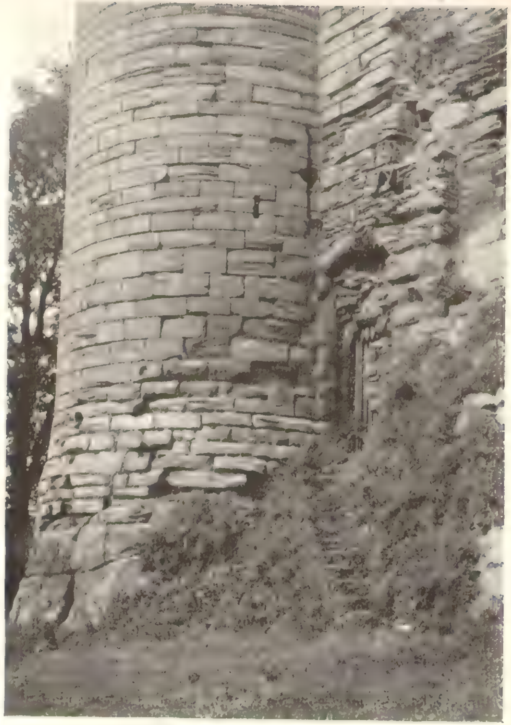
[1] Cf. *Proc. Soc. Ant. Scot.*, Vol. XVII, pp. 98 ff.

PLATE XII



BARBICAN WITH SIDE ENTRANCE, KILDRUMMY (p. 97)



POSTERN AT BOTHWELL

On curtain walls it was common, though not invariable, to have mural towers, for most round and projecting from the wall. But Yester in East Lothian had no such equipment, while Hailes in the same county had one rectangular tower at its western extremity and another on the north flank wholly within the line of of the wall. Hailes, however, is an early mote-and-bailey plan extended along the bank of the Tyne. Two of the round towers and the only rectangular one survive at Dirleton. Such towers were also disposed, when possible, in a symmetrical fashion, though this amounted to nothing more than placing them at the angles of the enclosure. This was the obvious course to follow at Caerlaverock, where the inner area is restricted. At Bothwell one tower at an obtuse angle is rectangular, the others round. A round tower occupied less ground space, size for size, than one which was rectangular, but on the other hand provided less internal room. The Scottish literary term for these mural towers was *Rounds*. They were lodgings subordinate to the great tower or principal residence. The late sixteenth century survey of Alnwick Castle reports that " In and upon the walls of the said castle be diverse fair towers and turretts, conteyning diverse fair lodgings and other rooms or place of offices." Sometimes a small tower was devoted to latrines, as at Bothwell. A Constable's or Captain's Tower is a particular allocation, where such an official existed. The Douglas Tower at Tantallon may have been assigned to the Master or heir of the house. Other such individual names must have had a similar origin. At Caerlaverock there was a painting in " the round chamber without my Lord's chamber " : this round chamber therefore was in one of the front towers.

From the military side emphasis had been laid upon the purpose of such towers in providing a flanking defence of the curtains. This service cannot be disregarded, though it may be doubted whether it could be very effective if directed from the occasional and often, from this point of view, unsuitable position of the loops or narrow windows. We have cases in which no tower and therefore no flanking provision breaks a long stretch of curtain wall, or the towers are disposed merely conventionally, or lines are broken by intermediary small towers, as at Bothwell and Dirleton, that at least do not aid if they do not obstruct effective use. On the whole one feels that too much has been made of the desirability of this device. Such concentration upon a military explanation of castle features has its pitfalls. It assumes a subtlety and thoroughness of structural tactics strangely remote from the casual strategy and neglect of elementary tactics so commonly displayed by a mediaeval army in the field. Viollet-le-Duc observes this contrast and simply accepts it. This resource, however, will scarcely meet the case of the Syrian fortresses, where those of the Hospitallers show towers that have but little projection from the face of the wall and are invariably square or oblong, that is less effective for flanking purposes. The French historian of these castles finds himself driven to the reflection that the French engineers responsible for their construction were little concerned with the importance of flanking.[1] Much the same could be said of Norham Castle, where Sir Robert Bowes, in 1551, reported that flanking was almost non-existent in the ancient defences.[2] Not really till the time of scientific gunnery defences can flanking be regarded as a deliberate provision.

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[1] *Les Monuments de l'Architecture Militaire des Croisés*, G. Rey, p. 16.

[2] Report cited in Jerningham's *Norham Castle*, pp. 253-4.

The same sort of reservation should probably be applied to the case of windows. These are fewest in the older class of buildings and generally formed of a long narrow opening or slit to the outside with a wide inward expansion in the thickness of the wall, known as a splay. In the new stair of the main tower at Blackness in 1667 there were to be placed "six severall slitts each of them fyve inches wide and two foot in height," obviously for mere lighting. Though such openings are popularly supposed to be for shooting with the bow and to be so fashioned in order to afford cover, it is not clear in very many cases how a bow could be used with any freedom, or, the ground covered being so restricted, with any effect.[1] The form of bow mainly used in castle defence, at least after the end of the twelfth century, was the cross-bow. But behind one of these loops a bow of any description, even if practicable, would be out of action most of the time. Moreover, there was also the man with a bow outside, for whom a window was a mark that should not be made too receptive. And there was the chance of making an entrance through a window if too wide or not properly protected. Apart from all these considerations early and even late windows were necessarily affected by the fact that glass was still a costly product in small pieces, and openings to the outside had to be fitted with shutters or wooden frames containing some suitable fabric or parchment, or with a combination of these. The parchment and linen cloth that appear in the building accounts of Edinburgh Castle were for such a use. Otherwise windows served for ventilation and observation, and it was not desirable, in view of weather contingencies, to make them with any breadth of opening. Le-Duc observes that in certain strong places of the beginning of the thirteenth century, their few windows of this class were made rather as a means of external observation than of defence, for which they are obviously quite unsuited.[1] Nor were large windows necessary; the mediaeval gentleman had little of interest, beyond eating and sleeping, to keep him within doors, and the bowers of the ladies on upper floors could be provided with larger windows, without fear of any unwelcome intruder. Window seats of stone are familiar features: they would of course be eased with cushions. In brief, the circumstances affecting the nature and position of windows were as usual of a mixed character. Of course considerations of protection and privacy were among them. And no one would hesitate to shoot from an opening if an opportunity presented. It is extremely doubtful, however, whether windows entered so largely into a scheme of castle defence as has been assumed.

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[1] Cf. "An ordinary loop in a thick wall, however widely splayed, admitted of but little scope for an archer, or space to draw his bow. The lower loops were entirely for air, not for defence" (Clark, *Mediaeval Military Architecture in England*, Vol. I, p. 137).

Generally the windows are further splayed at bottom or at top and bottom in a shovel-shaped or triangular or round expansion. The cross type, in which there is a middle expansion as well as one at top and bottom, is claimed to date from about the middle of the fourteenth century.[2] Large cruciform slits of this type are a feature of Skipness Castle in Kintyre. These expansions are claimed to be for facilitating fire, at the lower end a plunging fire. The explanation seems a trifle forced. Quite often windows of this type are at so low a height above ground as to offer a plunge of but a few feet. When firearms came into vogue, however, we do have openings of an appropriate form provided for a weapon more suited to a cramped position than even the crossbow.

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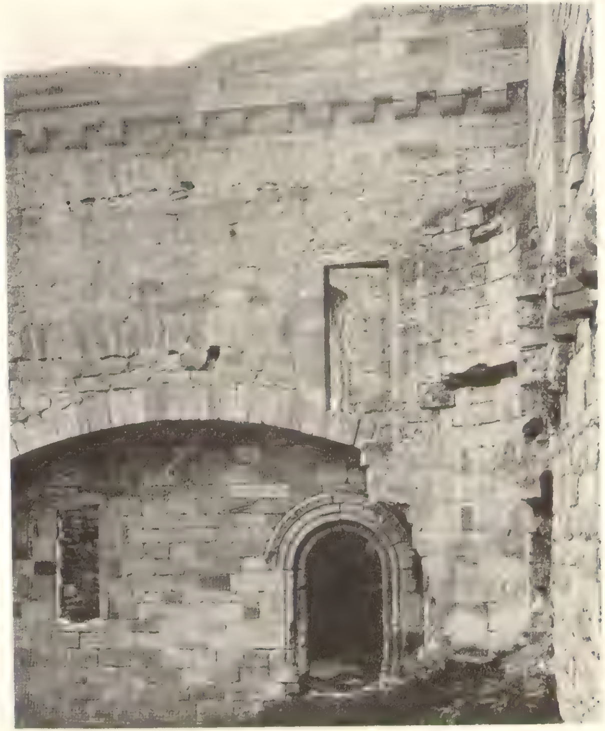
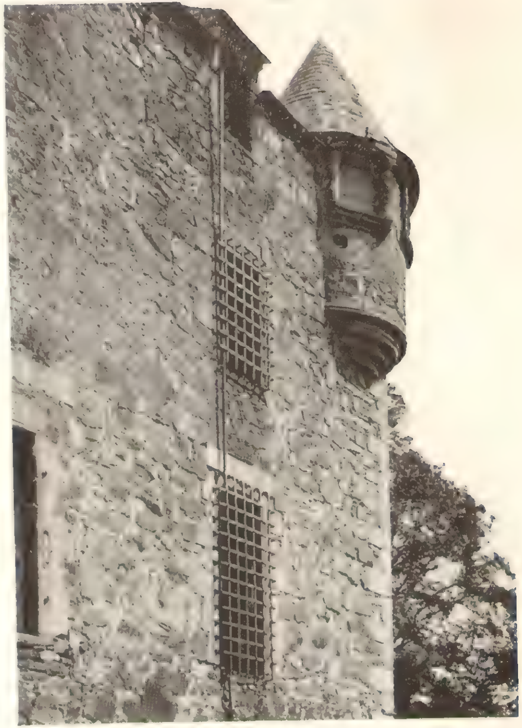
[1] VI, p. 392.

[2] V.-le-Duc, VI, p. 393.



HALL ENTRANCE FROM STAIR, CRICHTON CASTLE (p. 126)



WINDOWS WITH GRILLE, ELCHO CASTLE

Windows were sometimes provided with a transom, which allowed of an upper and lower pair of shutters. Or the upper part might be glazed and the lower fitted with shutters only. A shuttered window was known as a shot-window, but the first part of the word had nothing to do with shooting. The shot was the shutter. The old Scottish poet sitting near a "schot wyndo" which was a little ajar found it cold and remarks: "The schot I closit."[1] Similarly a shot-hole was not a hole for shooting through but a small type of window with a shot or shutter.[2] Windows of any size were blocked with iron bars or even an iron grille on the outside, an unfortunate device in case of fire, as in the famous case of the Fire of Frendraught commemorated in the ballad :—

"He did turn to the wire-window,
As fast as he could gang;
Says, 'Wae to the hands put in the stancheons!
For out we'll never win.'"

Something may be said on the subject of sanitary provision in these buildings. Such conveniences in the larger places we find placed ordinarily at the angle where a tower joined the curtain and, alternatively or in addition, in a special tower. Flues from these places discharged, high up as at Dirleton or Doune (Pl. X) or at different levels on the wall face, as at Bothwell, into the ditch. A projecting flue is not usually found in a free-standing tower, where a cess-pool open to the exterior for cleansing purposes may be provided. In later buildings small closets, differently utilised, are to be found, and as these are placed rather with a view to convenience than ventilation—in a corner of an apartment or off a window recess—it cannot be said that on this line there was an improvement upon the earlier habit.

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[1] Cf. "Windows called shots, or shutters of timber and a few inches of glass above them" (Wodrow, Bk. III, chap. vii. § 2).

[2] Cf. Scott's *Bride of Lammermoor*, Chap. X.

An invariable feature of a baronial establishment was the prison. This was known as the *pit*, as in the familiar charter phrase "pit and gallows," expressing the baronial range of punishment for crime. It is still possible to find the first element of the phrase misunderstood in the explanation of the gallows as for male

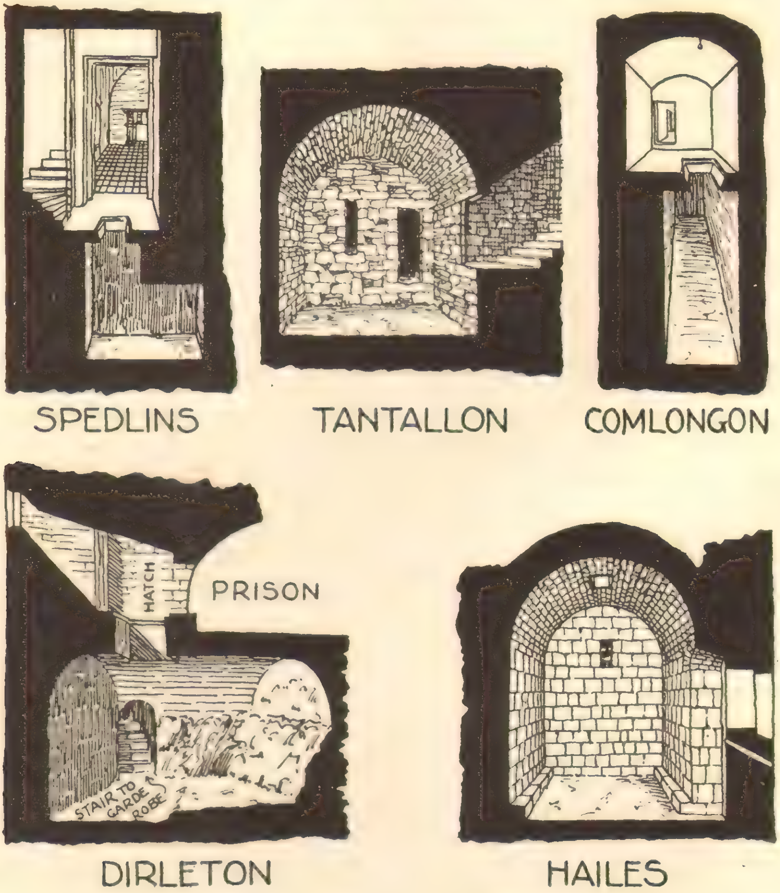

Fig. 9.—The Pit or Prison

criminals, and the pit for the more respectful disposal of women criminals by drowning. Sir Thomas Craig seems to have given a start to this opinion though indeed he says that the pit was for drowning men.[1] The substitution of women was due to Sir John Skene, citing, of all people, Hector Boece, who for his part says women thieves were drowned in a stream, not a pit. But there need be no distraction in the matter. Pit was a common term for a prison, private or public. There was a town prison in Edinburgh in the sixteenth century called, from its filthy character, "the foul thief's pit."[2] In 1594 a Brown of Frosthill complained to the Privy Council that James, Lord Hay of Yester came to Frosthill, seized him, carried him "to his place of Neidpeth," and "putt him in the pitt thairof, quhair he detenis him as captive and prisonair."[3] About 1555, Lord Seton, Provost of Edinburgh, for adequate reasons, imprisoned two baillies of Edinburgh "in the pit of Seton"[4] A resourceful criminal committed in 1676 to "the pit of the castell of Cromartie . . . made ane passadge throw the prison wall being eleven feet thick and made his escap."[5]

The pit or prison, indeed, is an easily recognisable place tucked away in some corner, and owing its descriptive name to the fact that it was in origin probably an actual *fossa* or hole in the mound of an earth and timber castle—well shown in the ancient mound of Tonbridge Castle, Kent—a fashion followed in its position in later castles, as at Dirleton, where it is partly excavated from the rock, or at Huntly or Tantallon or Dunvegan, where it occupies the basement of a tower.

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[1] *Jus Feudale*, Lib. I, Dieg. 12, § 16.

[2] *Cal. State Papers*, Foreign (1566-8), p. 211.

[3] *Reg. P.C.*, V, p. 150.

[4] Fountainhall, *Hist. Notices*, p. 161.

[5] MacGill, *Old Ross-shire and Scotland*, I, p. 94.

Usually too it was entered from above, so that after the ladder or other access had been removed, exit was impossible. At Tantallon there is a direct drop from the door, well above a man's height, to the floor below. Such a place was, in most cases, provided with a latrine and a ventilating shaft but no other lighting. At Hailes it has the luxury of a real window as well as a narrow bench along each of the longer sides. The "Bottle Dungeon" at St. Andrews Castle, 25 feet deep, is a funnel-shaped excavation in the rock without any other opening than that from the room above. This is a unique case. Pits varied widely in dimensions, but were commonly much greater in length than in breadth. That of Tantallon, which is the roomiest, measures 22 by 13 feet; at Spedlins Tower it is a mere strip 7 feet 4 inches by 2 feet 6 inches and 11½ feet deep; at Hailes it is 14 feet long by 6¼ feet wide. Their situation was a matter of convenience: at Comlongon the pit is found at the foot of the stair leading from the hall; at Dunnottar it was a tiny chamber off the ground floor. There might be an upper prison as at Dirleton and Comlongon, as well as a "laigh" or low prison for the worst offenders.[1]

There are at least two cases on record which indicate, for reasons that are not apparent, an unjustifiable use of the castle prison. In one of 1619 four men are concerned in the charge of incarcerating a certain Thomas Davidson in "the pitt of Tullieallane, quhair, throw want of intertenement, he ffamischeit and deit of hunger." A similar case occurs in the following year, when the three accused were charged with having taken "ane simple puir man" as a prisoner "to the

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[1] The plenishing of the House of Balloch included "lang chenyeis (chains) in the presoun heich and laich with thair schakillis" (*Breadalbane MSS.*, Hist. MSS., App. IV, p. 312).

Castell of Blair, in Athole, and stryppit him naikit of his claithes, and thairefter casting him in the pit of the said Castell, quhair in the deid tyme of winter, viz. in December last, he fameischet with hunger and cald, eftir he had remanit foure dayis and four nichtis thairintill;" afterwards hanging his dead body on a gibbet as a malefactor, all this without power or commission given them or any trial of their victim.[1]

An interesting and probably unique survival at St. Andrews Castle is a mine carefully worked through the sandstone rock in the course of the siege in the autumn of 1546. On November 10 of that year it was reported in London to the French ambassador that "the Governor (i.e. the Earl of Arran) had mined almost to the foot of the tower, by which he hoped to capture it; although the defenders were counter-mining and showed no great fear."[2] The countermine was run from the east face of the tower to cut in above the mine, which was then abandoned just short of its objective.

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[1] Pitcairn's *Criminal Trials*, III, pp. 479, 491.

[2] *Letters and Papers* (*Henry VIII*), *Foreign and Domestic*, Vol. XXI, Part II, p. 185.

CHAPTER IV

THE PARTS OF THE CASTLE. II

Hall and Chambers—Heating and Fireplaces—The Castle Chapel—Early Appearance of the Gallery as an Apartment at Falkland, 1461—The Kitchen and its "Necessary Houses"—Pantry, Butlery or Buttery, Bakehouse, Larder, Brewery—Increasing Baronial Households—Mediaeval Building upon Vaults—Entrances and Stairs—Cap House—Water Supply—Character of Building according to Periods: Difficulty of Precise Conclusions.

WITHIN the enclosure of the castle, whether towered curtain or mere barmkin wall, was a group of buildings, which were added to or extended from age to age, until in the greater castles the space within tended to become a congested area. Dirleton was left in this condition. The free space within Caerlaverock was much restricted by successive buildings. Such buildings in the mediaeval way were placed where convenient, but within a limited area that was generally against the side walls, sometimes as lean-to buildings—as on part of the inner face of the curtain at Tantallon. Buildings of this class originally existed in timber or timber and clay, as we have seen was the case even in the fourteenth century Castle of Edinburgh. There must always have been stables, if space allowed, and other offices, which were later repeated and extended in stone like the other parts of the castle.

The free space within the enclosure was generally known, at least in later times, as the "close"; where there was a double enclosure, as the "inward" and

" outward " close. At Dunnottar there is clear evidence that the roadway along the front of the buildings was cobbled, and such was probably the case also elsewhere.

The centre of mediaeval domestic life was the hall, which in its original state served all necessities of shelter. More private apartments, known as " chambers " (*camerae*), and domestic offices such as kitchen, brewhouse, etc., were in early times separate buildings. The royal manor of Cardross, built by Robert I, when occupied by his family in 1331, was just such a cluster of individual erections—a new house as a wardrobe for the young King David II, a chamber for the queen, a chamber for David's sister, another for their guardian, the king's hall, a chapel, a kitchen, a larder, a brewhouse, bakehouse, and a winehouse (*domus-vini*). Any connection between these would be by covered alley-ways or corridors. The problem for the future then was how to combine these elements in a single building or unified set of buildings. The earliest form of such a comprehensive edifice was the tower, which, however, from its nature was a specialised and rather rigid type. But even a tower could not contain everything.

It is necessary to have a clear general conception of the hall plan as it persisted throughout the greater part of our period, that is down to the close of the sixteenth century at least. A hall was the principal apartment among others in a single house ; or it might be an independent building. These different senses of the word must be kept in mind. So, too, " house " might mean merely a room, as in the description " twa hous hicht with a laich hall," or a house in the full sense. Structural necessities might modify the plan one way or another, but the ruling idea was that of a large, lofty apartment communicating with the private apartments at one end and the kitchen offices at the other, or in a tower above and below respectively, though towers also might have a kitchen at least on the same level as the hall. Normally the private end of the hall was occupied by the dais, in origin apparently a low platform, raising the table and seat of the lord and his family and guests above that of the general crowd, but a term also applied to the seat itself and surviving in this sense in late Scots literature. The other end was crossed by a wooden partition or screen, which might also be reproduced in stone, with one or two doors, forming a lobby known as the "screens," in which was the entrance from outside and from which there was access to the kitchen premises, whether these were on the same or a lower level. All such arrangements, however, as already observed, were subject to modifications imposed by the particular type of building. Nevertheless the broad distinction remains: there is the hall or public apartment and there are the chambers or more private apartments. Later on other categories appear and these will be noted as they occur. Already we observe at Cardross the presence of an apartment known as the wardrobe, in which were kept garments and other personal possessions including money and important documents—the clerk of the royal wardrobe as custodian of the royal purse was thus to become a government official. In a general sense the wardrobe was a personal storeroom, not, it must be understood, an article of furniture.

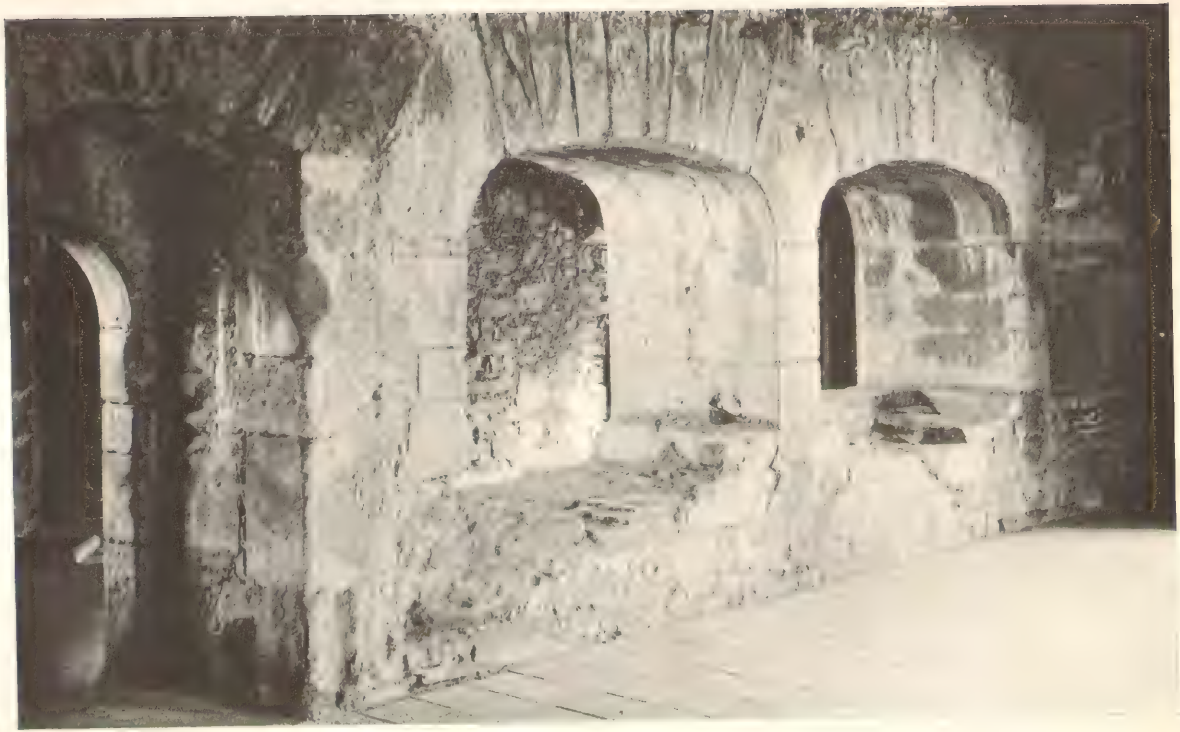
It is more important to take account of the hall as an independent oblong building, of which the ground floor is devoted to cellars. A good example exists at Bothwell as part of the reconstruction of an earlier building in the late fifteenth or the following century (see p. 164.) It was reached from the level by an outside stair, and was lighted by a range of windows high up in the wall facing the courtyard. At the dais end is a handsome traceried window at a lower level: this is a common feature of the hall in its completeness. Between this end and the curtain wall was the chapel which could be reached from a door opening on to a corridor running at right angles to the hall, the corridor probably also serving a row of apartments built against the face of the south curtain: all these are now gone, but the door, which must have given access to such a means of communication, still remains south of the great window. A hall of a similar sort existed at Kildrummy. Interesting in their specification, though no trace now remains, are the buildings which the Earl of Huntly was to undertake "on the mount of the castle of Invernys" under his charter of 1509. He was to build upon vaults a hall of stone and lime, 100 feet long, 30 feet wide and the same in height of wall, which was to be roofed with tiles or *le scailzie*, that is flat slabs of some kind. At a much earlier date (1435) the roofing of the towers in this castle was to be of turf (*duvate*). There was to be a kitchen in the hall. Near to it a chapel of suitable size was to be constructed.

When the stage is reached of combining these previously separate structures, the hall takes its place as the pivotal feature. One end communicates with the kitchen apartments and servants' quarters, the other with the rooms of the family. Thus we have it in the great fifteenth century expansion at Dirleton. There the north end is backed by the chapel, as at Bothwell, and what we can safely presume to have been household accommodation; at the other is the kitchen, 32 feet high to its pointed barrel vault, having a hatch to the well and another to the bakery, both in the basement. At Doune there are two halls, which we shall see is not a unique equipment; one perhaps a private hall, with private rooms above and in a tower attached to it, the other hall in two storeys only, having a kitchen tower immediately south of it at the west end, the rooms above the kitchen being lodgings, probably for domestics. The irregularly shaped space between this tower and the hall is occupied on the first floor by what corresponds to the screens, having a single door for the hall, an entrance from the outside, and two service-hatches or "dresser-windows" in the kitchen wall (Pl. XIV). Below each hall are cellars. Each has its own outside stair, which was roofed and could be closed at ground level. This was the accepted manner of reaching a hall on the upper floor. It was neither convenient nor dignified to enter by way of the cellarage. It was the same idea as is exemplified in modern houses with a sunk flat and the main entrance on the floor above.

It is this hall plan, too, which determined the lay-out of Crown Square in the old palace in Edinburgh Castle. Along the south side is the great hall, now styled the armoury, from which on the east projects the wing of private rooms, on the west a wing presumably once devoted to service accommodation.

Though the hall long continued its importance as a central resort it had to adapt itself to a change of custom involving a practice of greater privacy and more comfort. Already in England in the fourteenth century it was becoming usual for the family to take its meals in a less public apartment, a fact noticed and deplored by the social censors of the day. At first a convenient chamber seems to have served this purpose, then by the sixteenth century we have a definite dining room, often at the dais end of the hall. Or at least retirement was possible to a parlour or "with-drawing room," and that, too, established itself as a specific apartment. We find both rooms specified in the early seventeenth century in Caerlaverock. But a retiring room of this nature is earlier, though usually of small size; there is one off the eastern hall at Doune; frequently too, as

PLATE XIV



DRESSER-WINDOWS, CASTLE DOUNE

Entrance to hall on left: the "screens" or lobby (p. 112) on other side of dresser-windows

in that example, it has an aperture to the hall for observation.

Where a castle is equipped with additional buildings, or is furnished with separate suites of lodgings, more than one hall may be in question. At Doune we have seen two. Caerlaverock is credited with three, My Lord's Hall, the New Hall, and the Long Hall. The last would seem to be the seventeenth century building along the south wall: the New Hall, if we may judge from what was found in it in 1640—a "leid" and a "maskin fatt"[1]—had come to be used as the brewery of the establishment. The Lord's Hall must have been attached to the lord's chamber, and there was "around chamber without my Lord's chamber." The only round chambers possible in this relation are those in the towers at the gate. The first floor apartment over the entry has been subdivided at a later date by a cross-wall containing a fireplace. This has possibly been an original hall of the castle, and one of its subdivisions is my lord's chamber of a later time with a round room opening off it; the other the lord's hall. There was a "daning" (dining) room before my lady's "camber" (*sic*). The lady of the early seventeenth century was Elizabeth Beaumont, whose family arms were three fleurs-de-lis, as we see them on one of the pediments of the windows of the seventeenth century wing on the east side. The first floor of this wing has two rooms *en suite*, and on the outer of these the handsome fireplace jambs bear fleurs-de-lis as decoration. It is not far-fetched to assume this to have been "my lady's chamber," in which case the room beyond is the dining-room, the room beyond that, in the gatehouse, is my lord's chamber with the round room off it, and the other to the west of it my lord's hall.

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[1] I.e. a brewing vat. A "leid" also was connected with brewing.

It is, however, very difficult to identify apartments outside the hall. Generally they were known as "chalmers," i.e. "chambers,"[1] and in the smaller houses we may have no further description, save that in all cases there was normally a "great chamber," which can be allotted to the use of the head of the family. Otherwise chambers were distinguished by their position as "high" or "low" or by their occupant. At the castle of St. Andrews there were "chalmers" on the north side and these are probably the "Gentilmenis Chalmeris" referred to by Knox in his account of the murder of Cardinal Beaton. These apartments for single gentlemen may correspond to the "woman house" which figures in another Scottish castle.[2] To speak of such places as bedrooms is no doubt essentially correct, but not exclusive in the modern sense. In an early seventeenth century record the great Sir Thomas Urquhart and his brother are accused of having forcibly confined their father within the "inner dortoir" or sleeping apartment of the castle of Cromarty. As a rule, however, beds were numerous in any one room and freely distributed through all: there was a "canopy bed" in the "dra[w]ing"-room at Caerlaverock, a "falling" or emergency bed in the dining-room, and three beds in each of two wardrobes. The drawback to all mediaeval rooms, save in the case of a small tower, was that they were "through" rooms, one entering off another.

Chambers of any size might be subdivided by wooden screens or partitions. These indeed are not now traceable, but such a form of subdivision must be inferred in cases like that of the tower on the Little Cumbrae, where the upper floors, now entirely open, provided according to the description on record, " east " and " west " chambers, further distinguished as " low " and " high," showing that these two floors were subdivided into four compartments. The room in a small turret was known, in the sixteenth century at any rate, as a *study*.

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[1] The term *solar* for an upper room is of rare occurrence in Scotland.

[2] *Hist. MSS.*, IV, p. 512. It may have been the apartment for maids. At the House of Binns the "woman house" is now "the servants' hall" (*P.S.A.S.*, LVIII, p. 362).

The heating of the hall and chambers was normally done by fireplaces in the thickness of the wall. But all rooms did not have fireplaces : in the fourteenth century " chambers with chimneys,"[1] i.e. fireplaces, are specifically distinguished. At Dirleton we have an example of an early type, in which the recess is somewhat shallow and a stone-built hood projects to catch the smoke from a wood or peat fire. This hood rests upon corbels, which are elaborately moulded and have a nail-head ornament, while the corbels again rest upon circular shafts with capitals and bases. The sloping recess is faced with tiles laid horizontally. The projecting hood is a feature of fireplaces down to the fifteenth century and even then appears in the hall of Borthwick Tower, where a lofty pyramidal hood rises from a carved and moulded lintel, which rests upon a pair of engaged shafts with carved capitals at each side, the width between the jambs being 8½ feet. On the side wall is a handsomely treated recess, which probably served as a *buffet* or rather *dresser*—being fixed not movable—for the display of plate, a form of display which took strong hold in the fifteenth century. Such a recess became a common feature in relation to the fireplace. Another fireplace with fifteenth century mouldings on the caps and bases of its clustered shafts may be seen on the first or hall floor of Cardoness Tower, but the lintel and lower part of the hood are gone. Again we note the recess or dresser in the wall. Here too the jambs are 8½ feet apart. A similar fireplace, in better preservation, exists on the second floor. A slightly less prominent hood occurs in the hall of the tower at Craigmillar, and the floor of the fireplace is raised, while the recess is faced with ordinary building. The moulded lintel rests on columns with bases and capitals of fifteenth century type. Later on, however, the fireplace is carried deeper into the wall, so that the prominent hood becomes unnecessary. It diminishes to a cornice, which is the progenitor of the mantel-shelf. Such is the case at Comlongon Tower, Dumfriesshire, which, however, has suffered damage and had its lintel reconstructed. It shows still traces of the practice, then also becoming common, of ornamenting the fireplace with heraldic devices, some of which, in this and other cases, retain faint traces of their original colouring. The adjoining ambry or dresser is elaborately decorated with shafts, finials, and cusped and crocketed head. The hall fireplace at Elphinstone was also richly treated with heraldic subjects; it too is of the later type. At Spedlin's Tower, Dumfriesshire, we reach a further stage, in which the ornament is Renaissance in character. The jambs are console-shaped and fluted, and the lintel beneath a moulded cornice is treated in the same fashion. Near the fireplace again is the usual ambry or dresser. Of this class are the handsome fireplaces on the first floor of the seventeenth century house at Caerlaverock. At Scotstarvit Tower, Fife, there was an ornate fireplace on the uppermost floor, the only one of its kind in the house. Possibly the learned Sir John Scot of Scotstarvit, like Montaigne, had a preference for the top floor of his tower.

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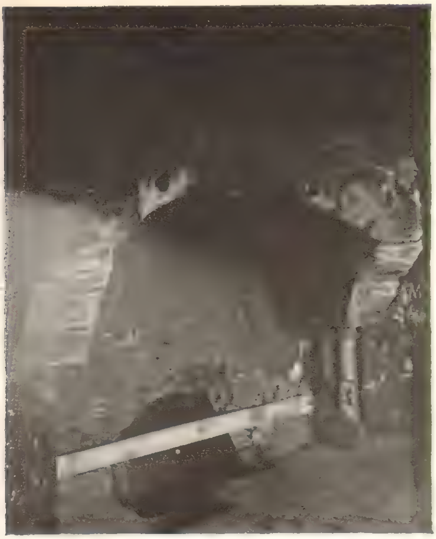
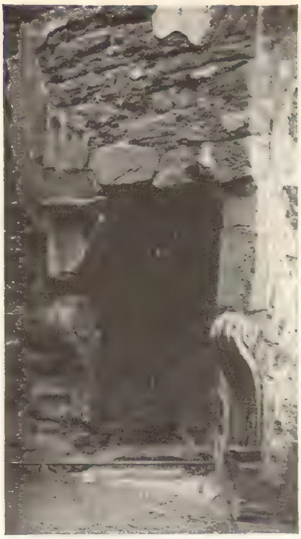
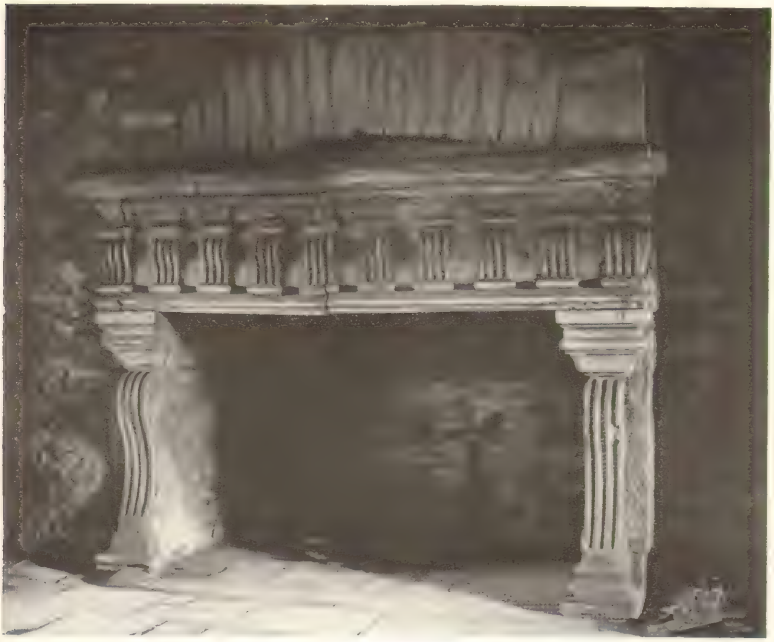
[1] Chimney could also mean a portable fire-grate. The assassins of Cardinal Beaton, Knox tells us, in order to burn through the door of his room " brocht ane Chimlay full of burning Coallis."



DIRLETON (p. 117)
XIII Century



CAERLAVEROCK (p. 115)
XVII Century



SPEDLINS TOWER
XVI-XVII Century

FIREPLACES

These fireplaces are among the rare enough features in our castles that afford evidence for judging as to date, but inferences cannot be very precise nor are they always certain, since fireplaces could be entirely altered in character by later reconstruction. This was almost certainly the case at Spedlin's, while at Craigmillar Tower the clear fifteenth century aspect of the hall fireplace conflicts with the other data pointing to the late fourteenth century as the period of the erection of the building in which it is found.

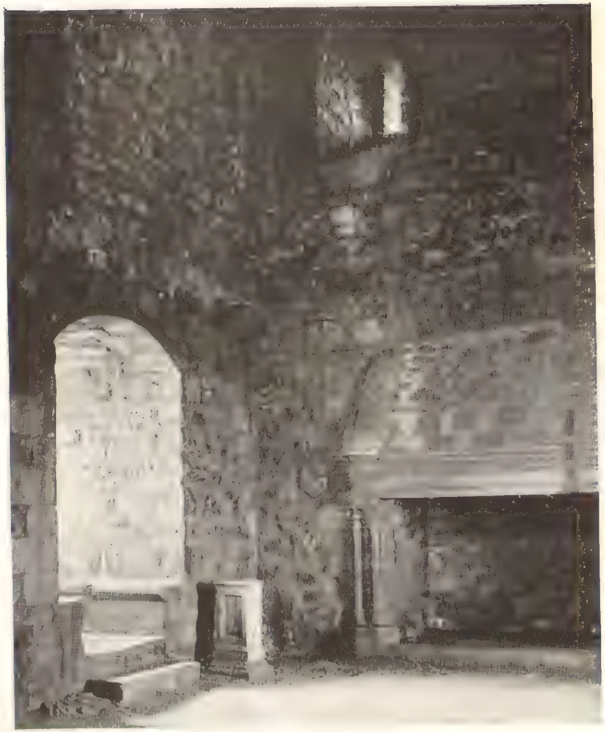
Of central hearths little trace remains. It is not known what evidence lies beneath the one now constructed in the western hall at Doune. There may quite well have been such a hearth in this case, where the roof is immediately above. Where there were upper apartments, a central hearth would be difficult to manage. One method, however, appears in the hall of the tower of Lethington or Lennoxlove in East Lothian. Three orifices are traceable in the haunches of the vault, and these when they were built in were found to contain soot. These must have served as escapes for the smoke from an original central hearth.

A rare structural feature of the hall was a stone wash-basin or lavatory, where might be performed the invariable ritual of washing before and after a meal. Even the two mice in Henryson's fable had to do this: "Without grace they wesche and went to meit." It was more usual to have portable vessels for this purpose. Of the prosperous merchant in *The Thre Prestis of Peblis* it is said: "His handis he wosche in a silver basyn." But at Borthwick, in the screens, through which the hall was entered, there is a unique example of this type of equipment in a canopied stone basin elaborately carved and finished.

A private chapel ordinarily existed in a castle. Family devotions were part of its routine. Such a building, standing by itself, is a feature of Kildrummy Castle. But an independent building is not common; that is rather an early form: it is rare even in England. The capacious chapel at Dunnottar, as we now see it, is at least post-Reformation. A room fitted up as a chapel exists at Dirleton. None has been identified at Caerlaverock. A tower did not give much scope for such provision, but in the second floor of Borthwick Castle, a window recess has been adapted to this purpose, as is shown by the piscina and locker and the supports for an altar slab under the window as well as a *benitier* or stoup for holy water. This furnishing shows that we are dealing with something more than a mere oratory; the whole window recess is really a *sacrarium* or chancel, to which the corresponding section of the chamber served as a nave. Such a recess was used also as a private room. Sir David Lindsay tells us how after dinner he "past in tyll ane Oratore" and took up his pen to write the poem called *The Dreme*. Another good example is at Doune Castle. A great bay projects from the tower towards the courtyard, which is rather an English than a Scottish feature of building, and the part of this bay on the second floor or great chamber is devoted to the chapel, showing a piscina, credence niche for vessels, and ambry. Beam holes for the screen appear on the walls of the arch. This seems to have been the main reason why the bay was constructed. At Affleck Tower, Forfarshire, there is a vaulted chapel in the wing opening off the second floor, with holy water stoup, piscina, ambry, and an image bracket on either side of the altar position. On the second floor at Lochleven Tower a window appears to have been fitted with a slab made from a window seat to serve as an altar, and the story is that this was done for the convenience of Queen Mary when a prisoner there; it is a probable explanation.

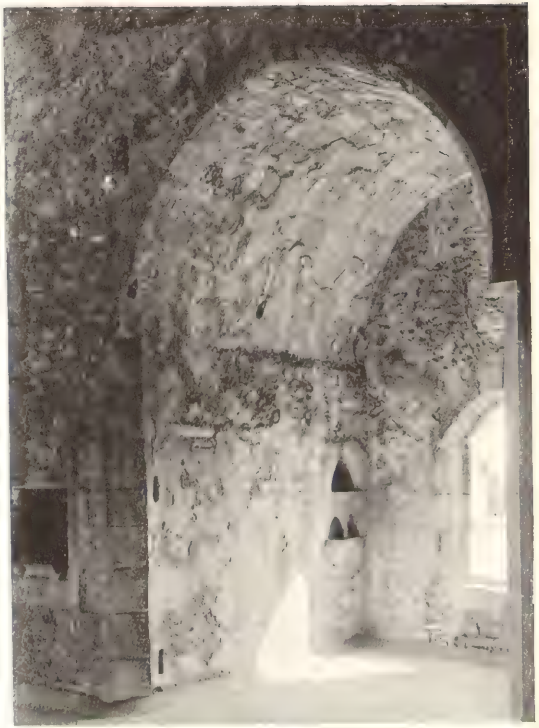
A novel apartment, outside the traditional mediaeval

PLATE XVI



HALL, CRAIGMILLAR

Window Seats (p. 104): XV Century Fireplace (p. 119)



CHAPEL, CASTLE DOUNE

plan, is the Gallery, a long corridor-like compartment. It was a conspicuous feature of English houses built in Elizabeth's time, an example having been set in the Gallery of Hampton Court as built for Cardinal Wolsey in the second quarter of the sixteenth century. This is usually accepted as the earliest case, and the fashion was followed for about a century, when it vanished in a new conception of house-planning.

Viollet-le-Duc traces its development from an ordinary corridor providing access to several rooms. Towards the end of the fourteenth century, he says, the size of these corridors or lobbies was increased, and by the end of the fifteenth century they had become veritable promenades, and were adorned with paintings and sculptures and furnished with seats. By the sixteenth century the practice of having a Gallery was definitely established.

It is at this time we first meet it in England. But in Scotland we find the Gallery three-quarters of a century earlier, no doubt an introduction from France. At Falkland, still indifferently styled castle, manor, or palace, there was a gallery (*le galry*) in 1461, which can only have been of this kind, since two chambers were partitioned off within it. Two are unusual: we have in other cases but a single "gallery chamber" at the far end. Then in 1497 we have a Gallery at Stirling, as part of the new palace buildings then in course of erection. It was on an upper floor, since it was roofed with *scailzie* or thin stone slabs. We know too that the Gallery and its chamber were part of the setting of the incidents of the Gowrie Conspiracy in 1600: the Gallery was then "but newly built and decored with pictures." Pictures—family portraits particularly—seem to have been the chief feature of a gallery:[1]

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[1] See *A Journey Through Scotland* (J. Macky), 1723: *passim.*

whence our modern picture gallery. The whole of the upper floor of one range of building at Dunnottar is known as the Long Gallery: it is 115 feet long by nearly 15 feet wide, a fair size for such an apartment; there is also a gallery chamber. As there was more than one hall there might be more than one gallery. In a contract for building at Cawdor Castle in 1639 we have a new passage "betwixt the chalmers of daiss and the galrie," also of "ane skaill stair to the hich galrie above the greit hall."[1]

As far as records go then, Scottish building had this feature earlier than any example in England. Nor need there be any mystery about its origin; it came from France. The importance of the emergence of the Gallery in Scottish planning has not been quite appreciated. Its appearance follows on the palatial treatment of the castle, which will be considered in the next chapter.

Among the castle offices the kitchen played the same prominent part as the hall in the other division. In 1382 a new kitchen of stone was built at Edinburgh Castle with "the other necessary houses." These "necessary houses" or apartments are expanded in another case as pantry (*panetria*), bakehouse (*pistrina*), kiln (*ustrinum*), malt-house or brewery (*bracina*), etc. For these a convenient position was chosen near to or in immediate connection with the apartment served. At Dirleton communication is by hatches. In other cases there is a connecting stair. In the Edinburgh case referred to the new kitchen was to be "next the great tower." There might be more than one kitchen. At Edinburgh there were in the fifteenth century "the kitchen of the king," "the kitchen of the Duke of Rothesay," and the "kitchen of the captain" or constable, that is there was a separate kitchen for each household. At Crichton Castle there was one in the original tower, a tiny place almost all chimney, tucked into a corner between the vaulted basement and the hall above; other two occur, one in each of the later extensions. They did not necessarily supersede each other: for these large households much cooking had to be done. Bishop Leslie in the late sixteenth century says of his country's noblemen: "Gret families they feed and that perpetuallie, partlie to defend thame selfes from their nychtbouris, with quhome oft they have deidlie fead (feud), partlie to defend the Realme." And we know that when four nobles were selected to watch over the infant Queen Mary, they each brought to Linlithgow Palace twenty-four personal attendants, while the "ordinarie officers" and necessary servants of the Queen Mother numbered thirty. The palace was overcrowded and a removal had to be made to more ample quarters at Stirling.

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[1] *Thanes of Cawdor*, pp. 284-5.

In towers some ingenuity had to be shown where the kitchen and such like did not find a place outside. At Borthwick the kitchen was in the first floor of the wing at the screen end of the hall. Again the fireplace occupies a great part of the space, and is lighted by two windows. There is a single window in the kitchen fireplace at Doune. At Dunnottar tower also the kitchen was in the first floor of the wing, but later was brought down to the basement: the upstairs one was probably in time found to be inadequate in size for the increasing household. At Comlongon Tower it is at one end of the hall, from which it is screened off by a wall with a service hatch or dresser-window and this kitchen again is almost all fireplace. A similar position is given to the kitchen in the towers at Little Cumbrae, Fairlie, etc. The kitchen is always recognisable by its cavernous chimney and flue. The open hearth of course occupied only a part of the space, as may be seen in the latest kitchen at Dunnottar.

Connected with the kitchen was the bakehouse, apparent by its oven or ovens. Where there are two, the smaller was a pastry oven. Or the bakehouse may be merged in the kitchen with its oven heated from the kitchen fire. The other offices in this group have no marked characteristics, though at Dunnottar the brewing-vat remains in place. The pantry (*panitria* or *panetaria*), i.e. breadroom, was strictly the place in which grain, flour, and bread were stored. Expenditure for the king's pantry in 1384 was upon grain, bread, oatmeal, and flour. In the buttery (O.F. *boterie* = *bouteillerie* : Lat. *botaria*), that is, " cask " (*bota* or *butta*) or " bottle-place " were the wine and ale. Glass bottles are not in question ; the earliest examples known of glass wine-bottles in England are of the seventeenth century. In *la botlere* of Berwick Castle in 1292 was the third of a tun of Rhenish wine, which had become putrid (*porry*). In the pantry or the buttery or in both were kept the various articles for use at the table during a meal. Only in the larger castles, however, can we expect a full suite of these offices : in smaller places one probably served various needs.[1] A " spence " or dispensing place might serve as both buttery and pantry. At Edinburgh Castle in the late fifteenth century there were a buttery and a pantry for the hall and others " for the court " (*curie*) —the court as a place not a company. There was indeed a buttery of wine and another of ale. Possibly the greater castles similarly duplicated their offices. A king's household was just a baronial household on a great scale. Plain to view are the capacious cellars,

[1] The youngest sister into hir butterie yeid
And brocht forth nuttis and candil in steid of spyce.
—Henryson, *The Twa Myss.*

where food supplies were kept in bulk, as was imperative in the days of large households and self-contained provision—the days before retail provision stores. These are vaulted apartments on the ground floor, the most important being the *larder*, which was stocked with fresh or preserved meat, preserved that is by salting or by larding with fat, whence the name. Bacon and fish, also cured or salted, and other articles of food in quantity, as they had to be, found a place in the larder. But though we can see the places provided for these purposes, conspicuously at Dirleton in the fifteenth century wing, it is clearly impossible to allot them to their specific uses. The basement floor of a tower is usually a cellar of this kind, frequently with a loft seated on corbels in the side walls, and in some later examples subdivided by walls on the ground level. The "magazine" in Martin's account of the tower at Kismul Castle was just such a storeroom. These great cellars for storage are the "dungeons" beloved of the local guide. There usually is a hatch for bringing up stores, but this is rare in a tower, where a stair down is the general rule. At the seventeenth century Coxton Tower there is only a hatch to the basement. At Lochleven Tower both conveniences are present. At Doune there are two stairs from the hall building to the cellars.

It was a mediaeval principle to build upon vaults, particularly observed in Scotland. In almost all cases then the hall was on the first floor. At Tulliallan in Fife they started with a handsomely vaulted hall on the ground floor, but subsequently subdivided it and moved the hall to the floor above. The ground floor hall is rare, but we hear of a "laich hall" in a purely domestic house (p. 111). There are ground floor apartments also in the later part of Balvenie (p. 155) and below the long gallery at Dunnottar (p. 173).

There are a few examples in which the hall seems to have been a floor higher. At Threave there was an *entresol* or intervening floor between the vaulted basement and the hall. There was the same arrangement at Halforest Tower in Aberdeenshire. In the tower of Lochleven the hall appears to have been on the second floor. Such also was its position in the tower of Kismul Castle, Barra. At Threave the entrance opens on the entresol: in the other cases on the second floor. Access in these examples was by an outside stair, in earlier usage no doubt often of wood. In 1412 beams were being bought for stairs in the Castle of Edinburgh (*ad scalas factas*). The newly completed hall at Darnaway Castle, Elginshire, is credited in 1458 with a wooden stair.[1] At Doune we still see the outside stone stairs to both halls; they have been reconstructed on the old foundations. At Kismul Castle, too, there is an outside stone stair, much destroyed, but it seems to have stopped short in a landing below the level of the door; how the last stage was managed we cannot precisely say. Such a stair, in part recessed, rises to the hall entrance in the fifteenth century wing at Crichton. At Borthwick the entrance on the first floor was reached by an outside stair to an arched bridge from the walk on the wall-head. Yet the earlier tower at Dunnottar opens on the ground floor: there is really no succession of early and late in the arrangement.

That the main entrance should thus appear well above ground level has, of course, been given a military significance: it looks an obvious form of protection for what was always a sensitive point. At the same time, if this idea ruled, it is strange to find the examples in Scotland so few and some so late. And equally strange to find the towers built by Philippe Auguste, during his resistance to the English occupation in France in the early thirteenth century, having their entrance on the ground floor. For this reverse condition, too, a military explanation has been supplied—that it was difficult to retire hurriedly into a tower by a narrow outside stair,[1] but one cannot very well have it both ways. Probably, as usual, motives were mixed; the appeal for a convenient and dignified approach to the principal apartments would also influence the mediaeval mind. But there is no rule. Outside stairs to the first floor were ordinary in purely domestic dwellings, as in towns.

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[1] *Gradus ligneus. Exch. Rolls*, VI, 483.

Internal stairs on the other hand were treated merely as a means of getting from one level to another: their space was made as restricted as possible and there is no obvious desire to give them a decorative character. Where the entrance was on the ground floor there is sometimes a straight stair in the thickness of the wall to the first floor.[2] Thence a winding stair, a *turnpike* or *turnegreis* (*greis* for Fr. *dégrés*, stairs) rose to the higher apartments. At Dunnottar Tower, of the close of the fourteenth century, the stair, beginning in a straight flight, is continuous from basement to garret, as it is also at Craigmillar Tower of about the same time and at Mearns Tower, Renfrewshire; Falside, Midlothian; and Rosyth throughout the century following. The same is the case in Amisfield Tower constructed at the beginning of the seventeenth century. In some towers one had to cross to the far end of the hall to reach the spiral continuation of the stair for the upper floors. This too is attributed to a defensive design, with, I think, much less plausibility. Or to a desire to keep an eye upon visitors; but that was the business of the janitor before admission. Considerations of privacy and propriety must have weighed much more heavily, all the more as the possibility of prolonging a defence of a position by holding a narrow winding stair, equally awkward for both parties, does not seem to have had a place in the mediaeval mind. For them the game obviously was up before that stage could be reached. But the approach to the private apartments was normally from the dais end of the hall, which was the private end, without any military device being in question, and the adaptation of this to the tower structure meets the case. In Spedlin's Tower, however, in the fifteenth century the turnpike to the upper floors started on the same side directly opposite to the straight flight from the ground; and in the late tower at Coxton the inner stair is in the same relation to that outside.

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[1] Cf. *le systeme de la porte haute avait parut géner la défense presque autant que l'attaque*, Enlart, II, p. 524.

[2] Lord Somerville in the late seventeenth century, speaking of two of the old towers at Cowthally, says, "how they came to the uppermost roumes passes my understanding" (*Memorie of the Somervilles* (1679), I, p. 356). In some cases there may have been access only by wooden stairs or ladders through hatches.

The construction of the stair usually entails a projection of the well within the area of the rooms, but such projection or its amount does not seem to carry any definite chronological significance. At the early fifteenth century tower of Closeburn, Dumfriesshire, the turnpike is wholly contained within the 10 foot wall, but in the at least equally early Dunnottar Tower it projects inwards from a 5 foot wall, while at Threave, roughly of the same period, the turnpike is within a wall which averages 6 feet in thickness and is merely cut off straight towards the interior. At Craigcaffie, Wigtownshire, of the last quarter of the sixteenth century the projection of the stair inwards is considerable, being sufficient to mark off a small service room at one end of the hall; but at Coxton, Elgin, apparently later in date (see p. 212), the stair rises straight to the corners in the heart of a 5 foot wall. At Kismul, of the first half of the fifteenth century, the stair begins off the side of the large window on the second floor and goes straight up in the thickness of the wall, turning the corner to reach the battlements. Another straight stair goes down to the basement. The absence of spiral stairs in this and other island cases is to be attributed to the impracticability of the local building material for fashioning the newel.

The stair emerged at parapet level under a low, sheltering superstructure known as the *cap-house*, so called from its resemblance to a flat covering for the head, whence also we get the form of *cap-roof*. This cap-house, rising well above the parapet walk, is generally adapted as a post of observation, reached by stone steps (see Pl. XXVII). A wide outlook over the countryside was a necessary thing when arrivals in peace or war were generally sudden or unexpected or uncertain, and timely notice was desirable on many grounds. On some Border towers we have observation posts provided in a different fashion, which will be noted hereafter.

Not much need be said about the castle well. It was a necessary equipment, but its necessity was not wholly of the modern kind. Neither quenching of thirst nor personal ablutions made the demands upon the supply that we might suppose. But cooking, especially of salted meat and fish, could scarcely proceed without it. For drinking there were ale and wine. The commander of the English garrison in Broughty Castle in 1548 when asking for provisions specified " as muche butter, chese, and bysket, as maye be; for those vittayles requyre no water to the ketle, which ys a thing verie skant; ther ys none with in the forte, and that that ys withoute ys scante and hard and defycyle to kepe yf I were nere approached." The water supply, in fact, was outside the fort, as was also the case with their fort at Roxburgh. "But," he goes on, "yff I may have good store of drynke"—not water be it noted—"and suche vitayle as ys afore said, I shall, I dought not, do ryght well."[1] This is no doubt nearer the mediaeval view than our modern dependance upon mere water and explains cases which seem to us puzzling. For the size of the households the possible supply looks scanty. At Dirleton, however, are two wells, one in the oldest part, another near the later kitchen in the east wing. There are two also at Doune, one in the courtyard and one in the basement of the main tower. At Dunnottar the only water supply was in the form of a large basin receiving surface drainage: there could be no spring in the conglomerate rock. At Tantallon, however, a well has been sunk for 106 feet through the basalt, and at Edinburgh there is a similar well over 80 feet deep. This, however, might go dry, as it did in the siege of 1573; it was supplemented by a supply from the well near the base of the rock on the north side, now known as St. Margaret's well. This spring was drawn upon in the siege of 1573 and therefore poisoned by the besiegers, which resulted in an outbreak of sickness among the garrison. At Kismul Castle a well has been made in a rock even more stubborn than basalt, which was probably filled by percolating sea-water. There appears to have been a well in the gneiss rock upon which is built Dunscaith Castle in Skye. There are many cases, however, in which the source of water-supply has not been discovered.

In considering these meagre survivals of a castle's residential quarters, let us not forget that they are at best but a feeble reflection of their state when a vigorous and coloured life bustled within their walls. Now, they are desolate—omitting the cases in which they have been reoccupied or merged in later buildings. Internally the lighting has been poor ; rooms are bare stone and lime ; wind and weather have done their worst for centuries and men's hands have helped in their disintegration : all of their past that could be taken away is gone long ago. The painted subjects on hall vaults or chamber walls have faded to a few vague lines where the veneer of plaster remains. Vanished is the tinctured pomp of heraldry : we can but trace its groundwork in a few places like Elphinstone Tower or Comlongon Tower. Some fragments of patterned plaster cling to the walls of Huntly Castle : the peeling fragments of coloured Renaissance frieze at Amisfield just hold their place, and one of its carved doors is in the Museum of Antiquities. The later wooden ceilings gaily painted with heraldic coats and ornamental devices of their time are in places like Collairnie Tower, Fife, left to rot away. The occupants of such dwellings were not neglectful of comfort as then understood. A fifteenth century visitor to Scotland, Pedro de Ayala, the Spanish ambassador to the court of James IV, remarks of the Scottish nobles : "All the furniture that is used in Italy, Spain, and France is to be found in their dwellings. It has not been bought in modern times only, but inherited from preceding ages." It cannot be too often insisted upon that what we are dealing with are the homes of a class in the community. That they are in aspect and design warlike means that they are mediaeval, when the distinctions, implications, and dangers of their kind were different from what they are to-day.

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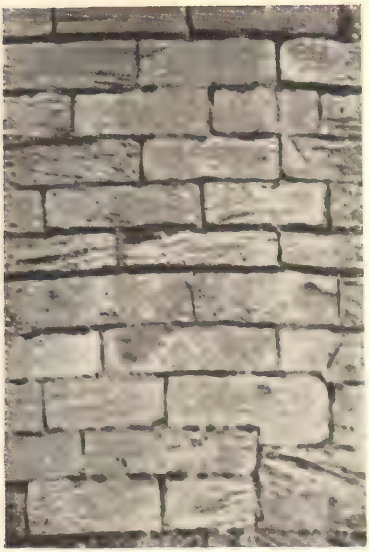
[1] *Illustrations of the Reign of Queen Mary* (Maitland Club), p. 26.

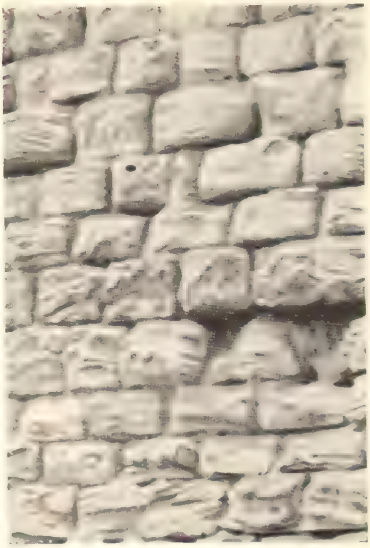
II

It is the details, admitting of adornment characteristic of their time, that supply, when more precise information is lacking, material for judging the date of a structure. Unfortunately in Scotland such material has too often perished or been removed. It is possible to draw an inference as to period from the general plan or from the character of the building, but either is apt to deceive and at best is definite only within wide limits. In all cases we have to take into account the constant repairs, modifications, and additions which were inevitable with the passage of time and new or greater needs. And it is just as well to realise that, in consequence of this process of reconstruction and repair on buildings, where occupation may be continuous over some hundreds of years, a complete and precise disentangling of all their various stages is not always possible.

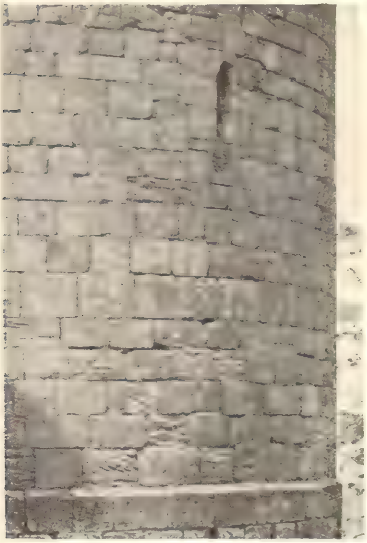
Building, too, is an element dependent on a number of special considerations—the material available, the resources of the builder, the supply of skilled craftsmen, and the sensitiveness of the district to a change of style. In the remote west the technique of building would seem to have continued as it was in the days of the dry-stone broch. And even that differed, according as we have to deal with examples in Caithness, Skye, Lewis, or Western Ross. The flaggy sandstones of Caithness or the schistose material of the Outer Isles will impose roughly horizontal courses; the more compact whinstone, available in large boulders, will have the open joints of their bedding compacted with smaller material. Auchencass Castle, in Dumfriesshire, displays the latter fashion in the thirteenth century (see p. 45). Yet of the same century as Auchencass are the more finished structures at Bothwell (Pl. VII)



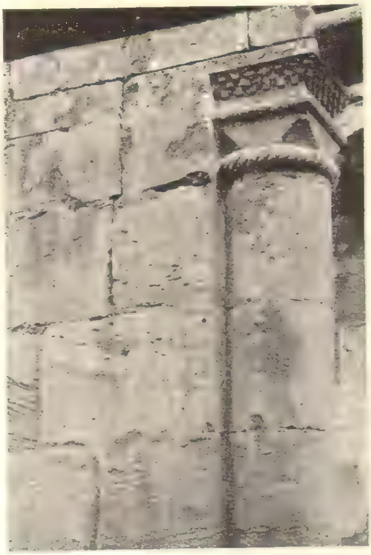
BOTHWELL, XIII CENTURY



ROSLIN, XIV CENTURY



RAVENSCRAIG, FIFE, XV CENTURY



CRICHTON, XVI CENTURY (p. 169)

ASHLAR MASONRY

and Dirleton (Pl. XI), where a core of rubble stones of medium size, compacted with abundant lime, is faced inside and outside with dressed stone in 9 or 10 inch courses. This dressing in mediaeval times was done at the quarry, and stone in this condition was called ashlar (*aisler*) : nowadays much of it would be regarded as coursed rubble, ashlar being reserved for stones with a finer surface. In coursed rubble as in ashlar the joints are straight. But even between Bothwell and Dirleton differences of building are sufficiently marked, the former showing more finished stonework with much longer horizontal faces and closer jointing.

Mortar is generally good. In parts where there was no limestone, shells were used to provide lime mortar, even in the seventeenth century, as at Cawdor in 1639. Otherwise lime had to be sent north, which was done in the case of Inverness Castle in the fifteenth century. The hearting of the wall at Rothesay is set in plenty of lime, but the gravel is unusually large.[1] At the Bridge of Dee, built in the early sixteenth century, the mortar in the internal work of the piers was of "strong red clay with a mixture of hot lime . . . carefully beaten together and mixed through the rubble,"[2] which proved a very effective cement.

It has been claimed that Scottish building degenerated after and as a result of the War of Independence. There are really no grounds for such a presumption. From the fourteenth century we have excellent regular coursed rubble building at Roslin Castle (Pl. XVII), quite as good as, if not superior to, the Dirleton work. The stones are shorter than those of Bothwell, and this may be noted as a mark of the period : there is also a larger percentage of more cubical stones in the fairly regular rubble work of the late fourteenth century at Tantallon, in the portion of building unearthed on the east side.

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[1] Cf. Report on Rothesay Castle by William Burges in King Hewison's *Isle of Bute in the Olden Time*, Vol. II, pp. 107-132.

[2] *The King's Master Masons*, p. 38.

But one cannot draw a definite line between the late fourteenth and the fifteenth century. At this stage we may say broadly that the stones tend to shorten on the bed and rise vertically, approximating to a square face ; or that there is a considerably greater admixture of this kind. It is the general effect that tells, and for that a good stretch of wall is necessary. And methods do not alter suddenly or all over.

The early fifteenth century shows us at Borthwick a finely built face, the stones rather deeper in the course than at Bothwell and more closely jointed. Ravenscraig, on the Fife coast of the Firth of Forth, we know to be of thirty years later and here a marked proportion of the stones approximates to a square face, giving that form of building which may be classed as block-in-course or large squared rubble (Pl. XVII). Tulliallan, too, which is not far away and is probably, on other grounds, of the same period, shows a similar face, with courses averaging thirteen inches in height. Morton, in Dumfriesshire, displays the squared character of its rubble in an even more marked degree. In fact we may accept this *facies* generally as a fifteenth century characteristic, a variation of the coursed rubble type towards a square coursed rubble or with a notable mixture of such stones. Even the rougher work at Lochleven Tower can be included in this class.

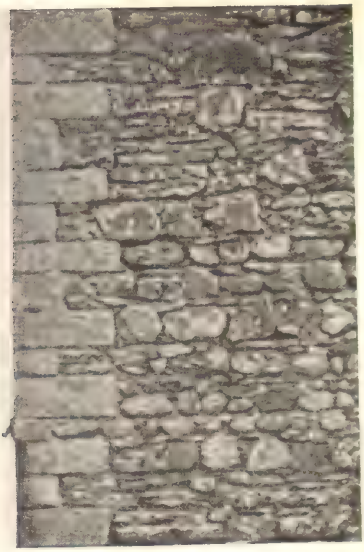
One determining factor, at least, must have been the transport of building stone, meaning the distance of the quarry and the method by which material could be conveyed to the building site, whether it could be done by gangs of men or had to be by pack-horses or on sleds.

Another contrast with the building before the War of Independence is raised in the case of Threave in the fourteenth century, which is built of random rubble in contrast with the dressed stone of the earlier buildings (Pl. XVIII). This is supposed to mark a degeneration from the earlier style, but there is no reason in the principles of building for such a proposition. It is very good rubble work. Carefully brought to courses, it gives a general feeling of horizontal construction. The corners and stair-well alone show carefully dressed material. The rubble of the great tower at Duffus has much the same character, while the enclosure wall presents a prevailing use of larger stones with infilling; it may therefore be later in time. At Dunnottar tower, presumably also of the end of the fourteenth century, there is this general use of more cubical stones, the coursing is not so marked, and the quoin stones are longer. The random rubble of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries shows itself in larger, roughly cubical blocks set in much mortar, as in the later building at Dirleton (Pl. XVIII), or in irregularly shaped blocks or boulders with much packing of smaller material. Stoneypath Tower, in Haddingtonshire, shows a large share of roughly cubical blocks with smaller packing, while in Saltcoats, in the same county but of the next century, we see the use of material of all shapes and sizes (Pl. XVIII). In Caithness examples, such as Girnigoe or Keiss Castle, we must expect at any period the flaggy rubble work necessitated by the local material.

These rubble built towers were finished with roughcast in the sense that the joints were pointed and the mortar extended over irregularities on the surface. In later towers we may have the face backset for roughcast over all. At Inverness in 1458 hall and chamber were being daubed or pointed with clay (*pro obstruccione*

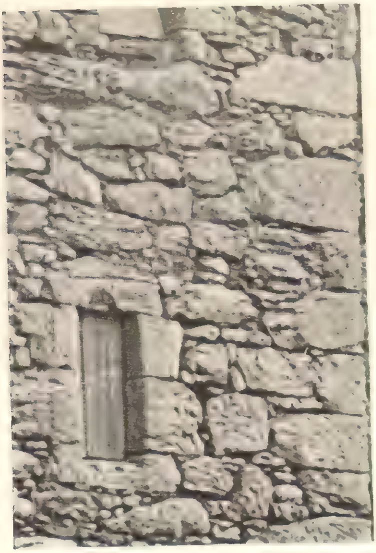
. . . *cum luto*). It is a crude modern delusion that the mediaeval builders liked rough stone surfaces. On the contrary they were given to plastering over everything of the kind. The difference in effect is very apparent in a comparison of Amisfield Tower (see Frontispiece and Fig. 18) as it is now, after losing its rough-cast, with what it would look like if treated as Coxton Tower has been treated (Plate XXXI). At Amisfield the value of the ashlar turrets and delicate ornament is destroyed by the full exposure of the rubble wall surface.

All this is somewhat indefinite and unsure, but a much more elaborate study of building styles, with many more dated examples, would be necessary to lead to any precise conclusions, and such conclusions even then might not be reached, so qualified would they be by the considerations already mentioned. At best they might, in the first instance, be characteristic of certain areas. Meantime any guidance there is must be followed with great caution. We may set down the coursed rubble (ashlar) building in long, comparatively shallow stones, to the thirteenth century. In the succeeding centuries the work tends to become more cubical in character. Of random rubble we may attribute to the fourteenth century that form which is built up of stones rather long than deep and thus has a striated appearance; while rubble showing the increasing presence of larger boulders, packed round with smaller stuff, becomes general in the centuries following. One must be prepared, however, for exceptional cases at any stage.

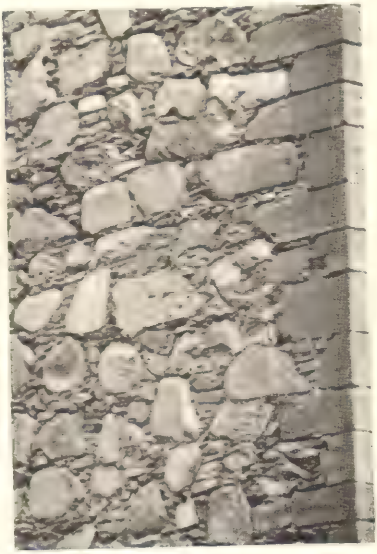


THREAVE, XIV CENTURY

DIRLETON, XV CENTURY



SALTCOATS, XVI CENTURY



AMISFIELD, XVII CENTURY

RUBBLE MASONRY

CHAPTER V

THE PALATIAL CASTLES

Services of a Castle—New Plan: Doune, Ravenscraig, Morton, Tulliallan—Mediaeval use of *Palatium* or "Palace" = Hall—the Hall or Palace ousting the Tower—Adaptation to older Enclosures: Bothwell, Dirleton, Caerlaverock—Development in new Enclosures: Crichton, Craigmillar—Dunnottar—The Royal Palaces—Artillery and the Castles.

THE fifteenth century was a great building period in Scotland of both castles and churches. It was during this century that Scottish nobles built almost all the collegiate churches, the highly ornate and costly example at Roslin being begun for the St. Clairs about 1455.[1] It was a time of increasing wealth. By the close of the century a foreign observer could record of the Scotland he saw that "the houses are good, all built of hewn stone and provided with excellent doors, glass windows, and a great number of chimneys," i.e. fireplaces.[2] He is obviously speaking from a limited experience, confined also to the principal towns and the homes of the well-to-do, but the observation even to that extent has its value. Among the castles proper the old timber and clay structures with partial stonework, the mote-and-bailey survivals, finally disappeared. It is just at this time, too, that the word "mote" appears most frequently in the records; such notices imply that it was becoming an archaism. As long as the mote was a customary feature mention of it by that name is rare: it was covered by the term castle, as is indicated in the expression "the Moitt of Crail, formerly called the castle of Crail" (cf. p. 10); now a castle was taking normally the character of a building or buildings in stone and lime, though it is further significant that these materials should be so often specified in this connection, as if not yet commonly understood.

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[1] Drummond of Hawthornden, in his *History of the Five James's*, says of James III (1460-88): "The rarest Frames of Churches and Palaces in Scotland were mostly raised about his time." On palaces see later in this chapter.

[2] *Pedro de Ayala*, 1498.

Now too, it is important to note, there frequently appears in the relative documents some explanation of the particular purpose to be served by a castle. Dunnottar is an early case, though there the mere presence of such a structure was in question. Sir William Keith, on coming into possession of that chill and uninviting rock, built on it a tower. For this he was excommunicated by the Bishop of Aberdeen as having outraged Church land. An appeal to the Pope resulted in a satisfactory settlement: what we have to note is the plea by Keith that such a castle would be of the greatest service to himself and his heirs in providing a place of refuge for persons and goods in the event of social or political troubles. This was in 1395, whence it can be claimed that the existing tower was erected before that date. But in 1495 John, Lord Forbes, had a grant of the Castle-mount (*mons castri*) at Kinedward, between Banff and Turriff, and fourteen years later licence to build a castle, tower, or fortalice with a view to "the increase of policy," that is social improvement, within the kingdom.[1] This phraseology belongs to another order of ideas than that common in respect of such places. It brings the castle as an institution into line with such a measure as founding

[1] *Collections, Aberdeen and Banff*, III, p. 524.

a burgh of barony at Largo in 1513; that too was "for increase of policy within the Kingdom." [1] When John Grant of Freuchie received in 1509 the lands and castle of Urquhart on Loch Ness, it was with a view to "policy" (*poletia*), the edification, the good rule, and bringing into obedience to the laws of an irrepressible and disobedient people. Along with other structures of ordinary serviceable character he was to build a tower, specified as of stone and lime, "for safekeeping from attack by thieves and malefactors." The tower so commissioned is a handsomely built structure, its parapet carried outwards on gracefully designed corbels. Substantially Urquhart Castle, as we see it, dates from that century. The earlier thirteenth century castle must have been of a simple type, and was probably in a decayed condition. That such was generally the case in the north country is shown by the Act of Parliament in 1426, in the time of James I, which orders the lords of lands beyond the Mounth [2]—that is roughly the country north of Perthshire and Kincardineshire—"inquhilk landis in aulde tymes there was castellis, fortalyces, and maner places," should build, reconstruct ("reparell"), and repair these places "and duell in thame be thaim self or be ane of thare frendis for the gracious governall of thair landis be gude polising and to expende the froyte (fruit, i.e. revenues) of the landis in the cuntre quhare the landis lyis." From the terms of this Act we see that fortalice and manor-house alike are recognised as desirable from the point of view of public policy, not as mere hiding-holes for a predial nobility, who indeed were guilty of neglecting them.

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[1] *R.M.S., s.a.*, No. 3880.

[2] Cf. "The mountain range which is called the Mound, which stretches from the western to the eastern sea" (*mons qui Mound vocatur, qui a mari occidentali usque ad mare orientale extenditur*). *De Situ Albanie* (*c.* 1180), in *A Critical Essay on the Ancient Inhabitants of Scotland*, by Thomas Innes, p. 412.

The Church too had its share in such provision in the northern parts. In 1455 the Bishop of Caithness had his brother appointed governor of the episcopal castles of "Scrabestoun" (Scrabster) and "Skelbole" (Skelbo) for defence of church and lands in Caithness and Sutherland. It was a big commission for two small places: the castles had been reconstructed (*reformatorum*), but it was the moral effect of their presence that must have been considered effective. At the same time a strong place of refuge might become as essential locally as a strong room is to a modern bank, for all its police protection.

From certain castles on the coast a special service was expected. In the fifteenth century, the Firth of Forth, the great sea highway of Scotland, was haunted by pirates of different nationalities but specially English and Danish. Trading ships both native and foreign suffered accordingly. As some provision against this evil James IV in 1491 made a grant of the island of Inchgarvie to John Dundas of that ilk with power to erect a castle or fortalice on the island of such dimensions as might seem good to Dundas as a protection to ships and boats which, for the reason above given, might seek the shelter of the island. He was empowered to exact six pennies from every ship with cargo which thus sought his protection and three pennies from every unladen vessel. In fact, however, Dundas did not carry out the commission, and the place was fortified at the royal expense in 1515.[1] At Largo Sir Andrew Wood had by 1491 erected a fortalice—employing his English prisoners on this and other houses—as a means of resistance to pirates and raiders, who frequently descended upon the lieges from the sea. In 1500 Sir John Towers of Inverleith had licence to build a tower on Wardiehow "apon the sey coste for the defens of his landis, placis, and gudis fra the invasioun of Inglismen in tyme of were"—for private defence, be it observed, not as a national provision. Similarly in 1601 it was claimed for the tower on the Little Cumbrae in the Clyde that its existence tended "to the common wele and benefite of the haill liegeis of this realme haveing ony trade and handling in the west seyis."

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[1] Inchgarvie was ordered by the Privy Council in 1550 to be cast down with the fort of St. Colm's Inch (Inchcolm), the fort of Brochty and Montrose, "becaus tha serve of na thing in tyme of pece, and . . . ar nocht necessar in tyme of were."

Some northern castles carried a heavier responsibility. In 1412 the Earl of Mar, victor of Harlaw, was being supplied with funds for the construction of a fortalice at Inverness "for the utility of the commonwealth" (*reipublicae*), or, in another entry, "the utility of the kingdom."[1] This is unusual phraseology. The menace of the moment was Donald, Lord of the Isles. A hundred years later (1516) Dingwall and Redcastle were being fortified and garrisoned for their defence against the men of the isles and other evil disposed persons.

These citations give an idea of the main characteristics of a castle in the wide sense—the proper residence of a landed gentleman, a centre of local government, a precaution against thieves and pirates, a place to hold local disturbance in check. To sweep everything into the category of "military architecture" is to achieve an indiscriminate simplification.

I

As was indicated at the end of Chapter II, with the beginning of the fifteenth century we find in Scotland a cardinal departure in castle-building. Hitherto we have had to do, speaking generally, with the mote-and-bailey plan or enclosure plans on appropriate sites which can be related to it. The tower lodgings are separate and aloof from the miscellaneous set of buildings in the courtyard ; there is not necessarily any structural coherence between the different parts. They are assembled within a space limited by enclosing walls, but of symmetrical design there is not much more. The general air is that of a somewhat loose and even casual group of structures linked rather than compacted together and architecturally impressive in detail and the accidental effect of the site more than in mass and disposition.[1]

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[1] *Exch. Rolls*, IV, pp. 145, 163.

Now, from the early fifteenth century new buildings —at least in those parts of the country responsive to new influences—rise on different lines. The hall not the great tower becomes the pivot of the structure. By hall is here meant not the principal apartment within another building but the freestanding oblong structure of that class, usually in Scotland built above vaults. Hall and tower or towers are combined, and this unified structure occupies the front of the construction as a whole. A degree of symmetry is achieved, so far as the main buildings are concerned. There is still the enclosure or " close " but it tails off behind ; in it are the offices and menial lodgings with brewhouse, stables, byre, and the like. The principal entrance is not always now in the courtyard wall ; it generally passes in an arched pend under the great frontal block, and the main residence can be reached without crossing the court.

A transformation on similar lines at the same time, that is at the end of the fourteenth and the beginning

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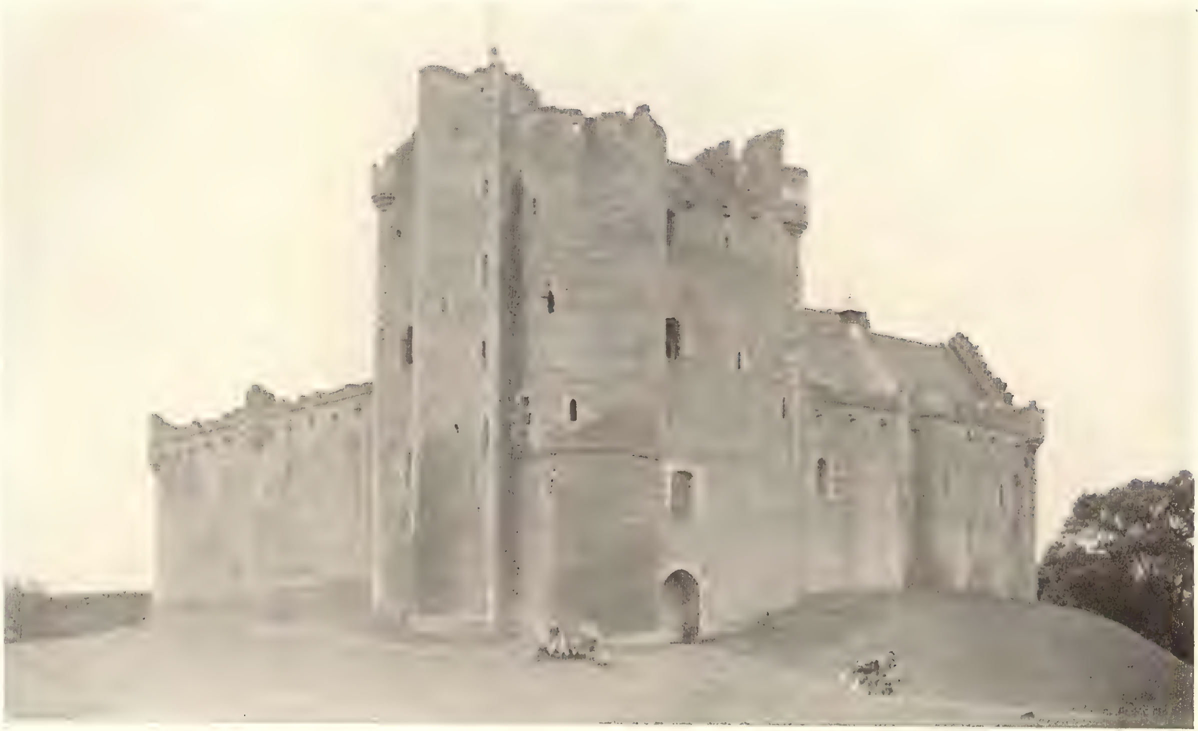
[1] Cf. the case of the first Cowthally Castle in Appendix C.

PLATE XIX



CASTLE DOUNE (p. 144)

of the fifteenth century, is emphasised for France by Viollet-le-Duc, who, however, reads it all in terms of the donjon or seigneurial residence, but a donjon which had abandoned its previous tower form and become a fortified lodging.[1]

An intermediate stage may be noted in the cases of Tantallon Castle (see p. 66), and the castle of St. Andrews, which was built from the foundations by Bishop Traill (1384-1401).[2] In both these, which were constructed within a short time of each other, we have the main tower placed midway of the front curtain wall and projecting from it both outwards and inwards, with the entrance passing through at the level of the scarp of the ditch. These towers are not mere gatehouses but imposing and adequate residences. This for Scotland is a radical change of plan, a plain departure from that hitherto prevailing. It is not of course a Scottish invention; the plan in this respect can be found elsewhere at a much earlier date. At Richmond, Yorkshire, a great square tower was wholly projected from the front of the enclosure in the twelfth century. But it is only at this date that it appears here. We may even include in this strongly characterised group the castle of Edinburgh, as it was modified by the erection of David's Tower (see p. 64), where again we have this tower residence raised on the line of the front wall and projecting from it. The period of David's Tower is about contemporary with Tantallon. We may put it that the first step was to bring the great tower on to the line of the wall in front and then to line up with it the long, lower building which was the great hall.

We may first consider a group of castles in which these new characteristics are clearly discernible, and the erection of which covers the span from just before the beginning to the last quarter of the fifteenth century. In Castle Doune of Menteith we have a building which was in existence by 1400 and therefore in immediate sequence to those just described. The north front of the quadrangle is constituted by a hall of two storeys, and a tower of four with a rounded turret projection

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[1] Vol. IX, pp. 149-50; V, pp. 84-5.

[2] *Scotich.*, Lib. VI, cap. xlvi.

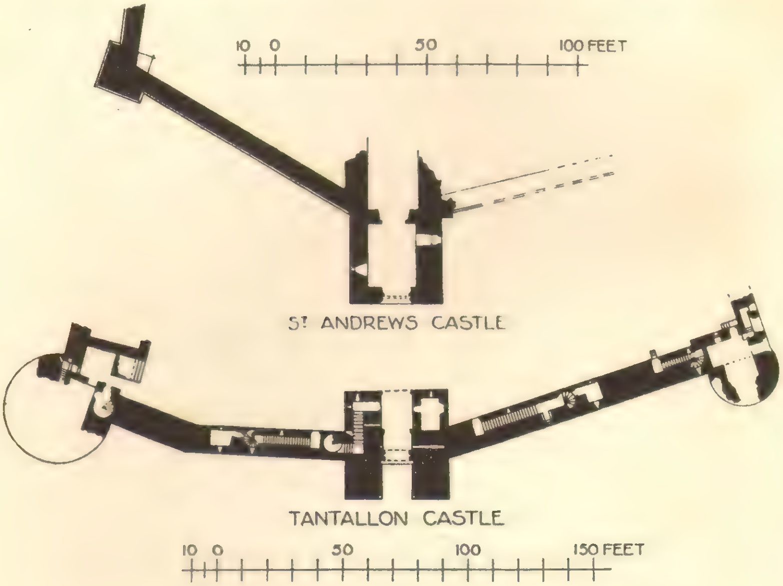

Fig. 10.—Original front only (p. 143)

flanking the entrance and affording a suite of small rooms. The great tower and hall are of the normal character: the former has its cellarage, its probably private hall with chambers above, and communication from the hall by a turnpike with the rooms in the turret. The independent hall also has its ground floor occupied by vaulted cellars, two of which, besides access from the outside have also internal stairs from the great apartment above, which runs the whole length of the building. The rounded projection on the outer face of the hall proper is merely a buttress carrying an open "garret" or round of the kind currently called a bartizan (cf. p. 84). It does not serve any structural purpose, merely dividing the face of the hall half way, and seems to be nothing more than a bit of design. The angled projection on the east face of the main tower carried a stair and has the chimney flues tucked into the opposite corner. The tower returning along the west flank contains the kitchen and associated offices and apartments. The kitchen arrangements have been already treated in detail. But the buildings destined to occupy other sides of the interior were apparently never erected according to the original design. We see the south wall pierced with windows, two of them tall and pointed, which were intended for such later erections. Foundations are still traceable at certain positions, but do not suggest buildings of any great size. The curtain walls are 40 feet high, but the parapet rising 6 feet higher does not project. The surrounding earthworks are worn out of any regularity, but a couple of ditches between three sets of ramparts, where the site tails off to the south, suggest that the castle occupies the area of a prehistoric fortified position or *dun*, which was probably the original "Doune of Menteith." There may even have been an earlier tower of which the lower part may be incorporated in the kitchen tower. But Doune, as we now see it, was built for the Regent Albany, who was Governor of Scotland in the minority of James I; and was lost on the forfeiture of his son and successor. It then became the jointure of successive queens of Scotland, but the last of these, Margaret Tudor, widow of James IV, diverted it to the line of her third husband, Henry Stewart, Lord Methven.

Ravenscraig or Ravensheugh Castle on the Fife coast just east of Kirkcaldy is another of this class, and we know that it was built for the widow of James II between 1460 and her death at the end of 1463. It occupies the inner end of a narrow promontory, which is the shore side of a short and not very wide heugh or dell, where the inner bank rises nearly as high as the corbelled cornice of the main block. This block is flanked on either side by a tower, and centering in it is the arched entrance. The promontory behind, which falls, at its highest, 80 feet to the shore, was walled, and shows overgrown foundations of various office buildings.

The place was never finished on the original lines. The main block has its cellars, but the hall over these was never carried higher than the floor level ; a later and thinner screen wall being run along the outer edge, and pierced with two deep embrasures for very small guns. The loftier tower on the west was entered on the first floor by an outside stair, rising from a tiny courtyard in front ; a difference in the levels enabled the east tower to be entered by a corridor at the second floor. Whether both towers were intended to rise to the same height cannot be said. On the top both must have received a temporary roofing after the place, with other lands and houses, was conferred in 1470 on William St. Clair " as partial recompense and satisfaction " for the earldom of Orkney and the Castle of Kirkwall. The present finish in the east tower is not earlier than the sixteenth century ; that now on the west tower, tabling, and attic, is of the century after.

From the front, now obscured by trees, the castle looks formidable enough. The tower walls are 14 feet thick, and the only openings on this northern aspect are a single chamfered slit circled at bottom—like a reversed keyhole—on each floor of each tower with similar openings to the cellarage in the main block. There are ample windows on the sides facing seawards. But the entrance is without provision for either drawbridge or portcullis, and only small pieces could occupy the two embrasures above. Clerk of Eldin, in an engraving of the late eighteenth century, shows the ditch crossed by a stone bridge of a single arch.

Morton Castle, in Dumfriesshire, is substantially similar with some differences of detail. Here too the main block with its terminal towers bestrides a promontory, which in this case stretches into a lake. The west tower, however, is one of a pair between which was the entrance with drawbridge and ditch in front. Morton was probably built soon after 1440, when the barony came into possession of Douglas of Dalkeith.

Another structure of the same general class and about the same age is Tulliallan in Fifeshire. Under some novel variations we have the same conception. The main building is unique in having a nobly vaulted range on the ground floor originally divided into two parts, the smaller having an elaborate fireplace and windows with window-seats. The vaults are ribbed, not the usual barrel vaults, and are carried on a central row of piers with moulded capitals and bases.[1] Two wings oblong on plan, project behind. That to the west has been first widened and then raised, and there has been internal reconstruction also within the main building. Even more frankly perhaps than the places just considered Tulliallan displays its origin in the hall. There is little else in its make-up. At the south-west corner is a tower of no great projection containing the entrance and a turnpike stair ; at the opposite corner of the main block on this side is another stair tower or turret. Both show semi-octagonal faces to the west. The entrance in the tower has had a drawbridge depending by a spur from a chain, like the one in the square tower at Bothwell ; but there is now no evidence of the ditch it was expected to span. At the far end of this front is another entrance, opening directly upon the original smaller vaulted room, but equipped only with double doors. In time, apparently, this ground floor was abandoned as a principal apartment, to which purpose the upper floor was then devoted. A window above the eastern entrance was enlarged to a door, which must have been reached by an outside wooden stair. From a military point of view these arrangements seem very casual. As the larger part of the vaulted ground floor was subdivided by a cross-wall, which also served to carry a new partition wall above, it may be surmised that the ground flat was degraded to cellarage. There is a well in the western end, but no sign of a kitchen chimney anywhere.

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[1] " All the ground-floor rooms are vaulted, but instead of the usual plain barrel vaults, they are the regular groined vaults of the fourteenth century, with moulded ribs, central pillars, moulded capitals, and corbels, more like an English house than a Scotch one " (*Domestic Architecture of the Middle Ages*, Part II, p. 395). The details may be fourteenth century for England, but Tulliallan is almost certainly of a hundred years later. Dating on these comparative lines is a dangerous course in Scottish buildings.

There was a " fortalice " or " forslet " at Tulliallan in 1410-18,[1] but the present building is plainly not to be so described. Probably the place was built after the lands came in 1488 to John Blackadder, whose mother was heiress and resigned her right in his favour. In 1568 John " Blacater " of Tulliallan was among the " rebels " against Queen Mary and Darnley, and was " resorting within . . . the castell, tour and fortalice of Tulliallan." This description of the place is general and inclusive. Apart from its actual building and its unpleasant position in marshy ground, the place has little of a military character.

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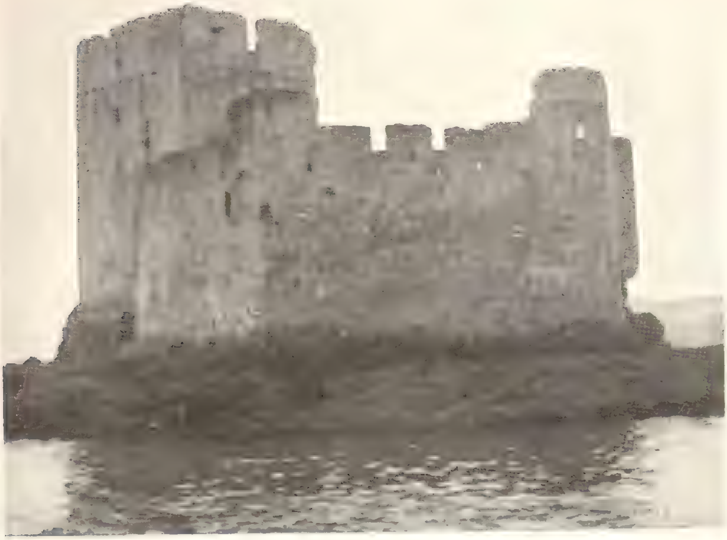
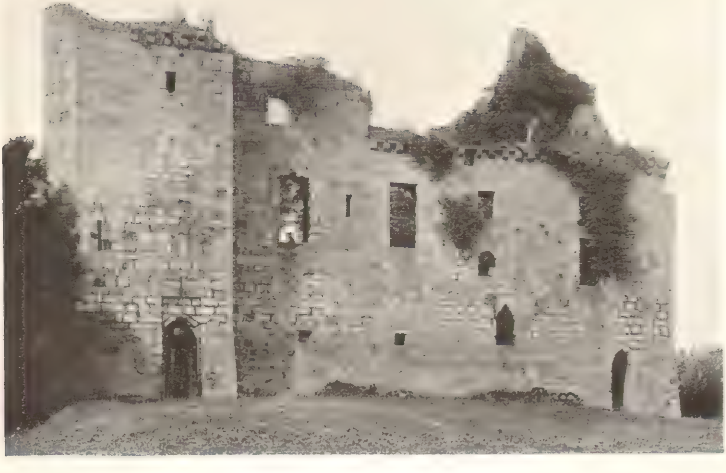
[1] Fraser's *Douglas Book*, pp. 402, 406.



KISMUL CASTLE (p. 163)



TULLIALLAN (*cf.* Fig. 19)

II

From a consideration of these buildings, then, the inference forces itself upon us that there has been a radical change in the architectural conception of a castle, so far as new erections are concerned. Further illustration of this will follow; and indeed later developments are inexplicable without a realisation of this departure. The centre of gravity has been shifted from the tower to the hall. Where the structure as a whole is not new and the lay-out, one way or another, is already determined, the same end is achieved by the addition or re-erection of a hall of a capacious and impressive character. Castles raised on this new plan it is convenient and, as will be seen, in accordance with Scottish nomenclature to call palatial castles.[1] Some indeed have actually borne the name of palaces, a technically descriptive term which has been treated as a piece of Scottish ostentation.

To this misunderstanding the great dictionaries have helped. For them a palace is the residence of a king or at least a bishop; any inferior use is by "transference of meaning." From the mediaeval standpoint this is wholly to miss the mark. For the mediaeval writer *palatium* was a variant name for a hall, more commonly called *aula*. It could be used even for a hall as an apartment in a building, as by Chaucer:—

> "The riche array of Theseus paleys
> Ne who sat first, ne last, upon the deys."[2]

or Froissart: "At other tables all round the palace (*le palais*) sat more than five hundred ladies old and young."[3]

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[1] "Le château gothique," writes Enlart, "est un veritable palais fortifié" (*Manuel d'Archeologie Française*, II, p. 517). But he does not offer any precise definition of the term *palais*.

[2] *Knight's Tale*, 2199-2200. *deys* = dais.

[3] XIV, 15.

But what we are here specially concerned with is *palatium* in the sense of an independent hall building. A passage cited by Ducange, without any conception of its significance, is perhaps intermediary in sense. It is from a version of the Rule of the Knights' Templar of 1127[1] and alludes to their common meal "in a palace (*palatio*) or as it is better called a refectory," that is the monastic dining-hall. But there is no ambiguity in the word as used in the *Scotichronicon* in the account of how the young Earl of Athole and his companions were murdered by some of the Bisset party at Haddington in 1242. The assassins, we are told, to cover their crime burned down not only "the house in which they lay" but also the whole "beautiful manor and palace" (*manerium et palatium*). From the same source we learn of the handsome *palatium* erected in the first half of the fifteenth century by a prior of St. Andrews within the court of his guest-house.[2] And the late thirteenth century English chronicler, Matthew of Paris, tells of a great builder of mansions in the time of Henry II, specifying particularly one which had a *palace*, chapel, chambers, and other houses of stone roofed with lead. Here "palace" is plainly what would more ordinarily be called the hall. In that highly popular work of the same century, *Le Roman de la Rose*, the poet describes a castle with a tower which was surrounded by humbler lodgings and offices, while "the palace stood near the tower" (*Le pallais sist prest de la tour*); the palace again being the free-standing hall. Such is the state of what remains of the palace of Poitiers

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[1] Cited by Du Cange under *Palatium*.

[2] Lib. XI, cap. lvii. Cf. "The guest hall in the monastery at Canterbury was 40 feet broad, and 150 feet long . . . . and was called occasionally *palatium* or palace, meaning a place of short residence" (*Monks and Monasteries*, by Samuel Fox, M.A., F.S.A. London, 1845, p. 178). The "meaning" cannot be taken seriously.

(see Fig. 11), where the tower would have been actually attached to the hall, had the site allowed, giving us a type of plan that will be considered presently. In the same was what is translated "the hall of the high priest" in the authorised version of St. John's Gospel, is in Tyndale's version of 1526 "the palays of the hye preste."

The truth seems to be that to the mediaeval observer there were but two types of self-subsisting houses, the tower and the hall—*aula* or *palatium*.

We are now in a position to understand what Bishop Leslie had in mind when, in the geographical survey of Scotland which opens his history,[1] he discriminates certain noble houses as *palatia* rather than *castra* or castles. These were the places laid out on the lines figured above, in which it was the destiny of the tower to become less and less and of the oblong hall to become more and more. "On the bank of the river Deveron," he writes, "are many castles and palaces of noblemen." Among these he considers one of the principal to be Strathbogie, a seat of the Earl of Huntly. Now Sir Robert Gordon tells us that in the year 1544 "the Earl of Huntlie caused *the palace of Strathbogie* to be callit Huntlie by Act of Parliament."[2] A glance at the main block of the plan (Fig. 11) indicates at once its affinities with the class of building under consideration. Originally this block of tower and hall dates from about 1452. A hundred years later the upper portion had to be rebuilt by George the fourth earl. The ornate finish of the south front, however, blazons its author in George, Marquis of Huntly, 1602. But the original plan has remained throughout, and the courtyard with its low buildings is merely an appendage.[3] Huntly indeed in its relation of round tower and palace typifies many other plans, such as those of Rait, Nairnshire;

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[1] *De Origine, Moribus et Rebus Gestis Scotorum, Romae*, 1578.

[2] *Earls of Sutherland* (1639), p. 110.

[3] For details of Huntly, see Dr. W. D. Simpson's paper in *Proc. Soc. Ant. Scot.*, LVI, p. 134.

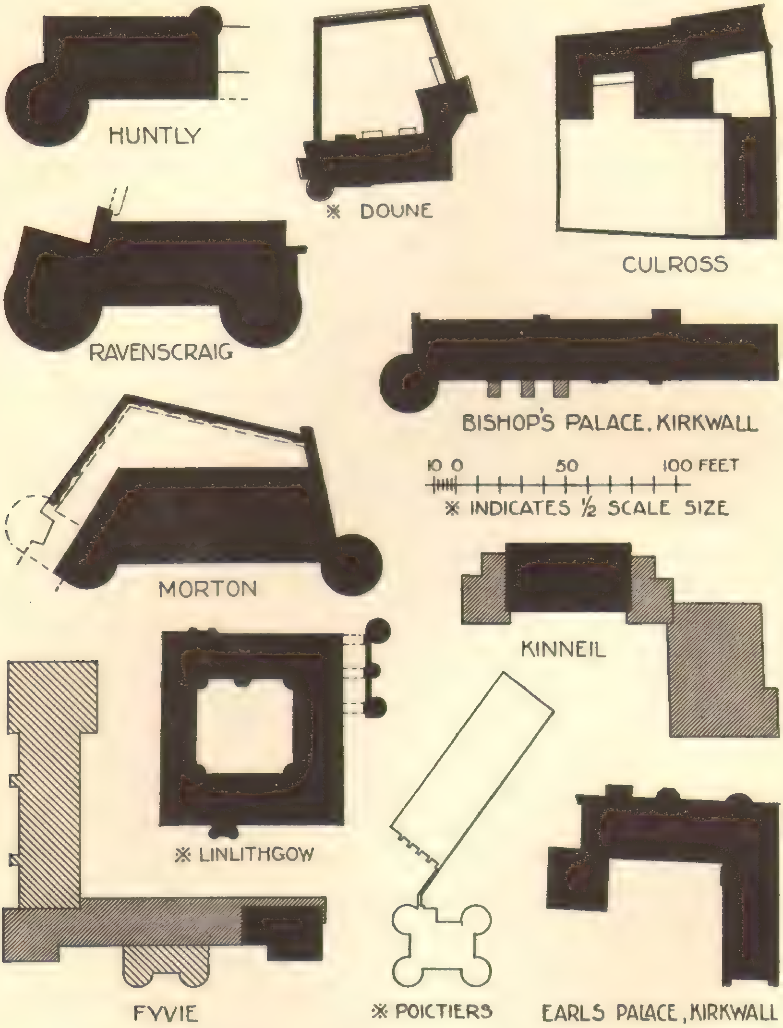

Fig. 11.—Palace Plans (1). See also Fig. 19

Killochan and Dalquharran, Ayrshire; and Earlshall, Fife. As Rait again has authoritatively been recognised to have "affinity" in plan with Morton and Tulliallan, and Dalquharran with Rait and Morton,[1] we see the pieces of what has been treated as a puzzle fitting together quite nicely: they all give prominence to the hall and are therefore palace plans.

Returning to Leslie we find mention of "the noble palace (*insigne palatium*) of the Baron of Fyvie." Fyvie was an amplification of an original rectangular tower, which was absorbed as a wing of a long frontage with a corresponding tower wing at the other end. This was the palace of Leslie's date: the building of an additional side and of a central entrance belongs to later times. The rest of the enclosure was plain wall. What Leslie calls Fetterresso Palace (*Fetterressaeum palatium*) developed in the same way: first a long block with a courtyard or close, then the addition of a similar block on the east side. It was this latter portion which was burnt by Montrose in 1645 and afterwards reconstructed.[2]

Of Fife Leslie remarks that nowhere were *arces et palatia* more numerous than in that quarter. *Arces* is not uncommon for castles or fortalices; what then were the palaces if not buildings of the type analysed above? of which examples probably are Earlshall and Fordell. The only difference in the latter case is that the frontal angle tower is square and that there is another diagonally opposite, both containing stairs. It dates from 1567, when James Henderson of Fordell was "biggand ane foundation of ane house of ane gret quantite."[3] An armorial panel bears that date; a skewput has also the date 1580, which probably indicates some repair. Other buildings of this class will be referred to in the next chapter.

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[1] MacGibbon and Ross, Vol. I, p. 558; III, p. 346.

[2] See Barron's *Castle of Dunnottar*, pp. 73, 92.

[3] *Laing Charters*, No. 825.

The use of the word palace in the sense here insisted upon is not confined to historians. King James IV assigned as Queen Margaret's dower, among other properties, "Stirlingshire and castle . . . the lordship and castle of Doune, the palace and lordship of Methven."[1] Nothing of Methven "palace" remains, but the official discrimination is worthy of note, as also that it was the palace of a mere lordship. The word carries a definite significance, is not in such a document used either casually or rhetorically. The same must be said of the clauses as to the "manor and palace" of Inchinnan, Renfrewshire, in the charter to the Earl of Lennox under the Great Seal of January 18 1511-12, and in the Retours of 1662 and 1680: "Darnley with the castle . . . the lands of Inchinnan with the palace."[2] In 1553 the Earl of Arran was regent of Scotland and was taking advantage of his control of the public purse and the workshops of Edinburgh Castle to indulge a taste for building at his various residences: in that year the Lord High Treasurer's Accounts record a payment of "drynk silver at the laying of the ground stanes of the palice of Kynnele," that is Kinneil in Linlithgowshire. Arran's rectangular block of building subsists in part and therefore most probably in plan within the later reconstructions of the main house, from which extends outwards a wing probably begun about the last quarter of the sixteenth century, and linked up with the reconstructed palace block a hundred years later (1677). Kinneil is interesting because its distinction as a "palace" is vouched for from the English as well as the Scottish side. On

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[1] Bain's *Calendar*, IV, No. 1706.

[2] In 1710 there still remained some part of "the old palace," but every vestige of the "Palace of Inchinnan" had disappeared before the last decade of the century (Crawford's *Description of the Shire of Renfrew* (1710), ed. 1818, p. 106; *Stat. Acct*, III, p. 536).

29 May, 1570, the Lords of the Congregation, with an English army, burnt "the palice of Kynneill";[1] according to the English account it was "demolished by powder." In 1579, however, it is on record as a residence. Early in 1597, Sir Thomas Scrope, the English warden, anticipates a significant meeting of Scottish politicians at Lord Hamilton's "palace of Knerveill (Kinneil) beside Lithgo."[2] And to Sir Robert Sibbald in 1710 it is still "the Palace of Kiniel."[3] Mention only need be made of persistent nomenclature like Seton Palace of old, Culross Palace of the local Bruces built in 1597, Earl's Palace at Kirkwall, and others still familiar.

Once the principle and general figure of the palace plan is accepted, one finds it a means of fixing at least an upper limit in time for unpedigreed structures. Thus Balvenie Castle in Banffshire has, for its older part, been attributed to the thirteenth century. But its front is constituted by the main house; the rectangular courtyard behind is of solid walls, against which were other buildings. The tower and erection adjoining on the front is dated by the arms of the fourth Stewart, Earl of Atholl (1542-79). This work is probably a reconstruction on the old lines. Anyhow, in conformity with the argument above the place shows a lay-out of not earlier than the fifteenth century. And this dating fits the history of the property. Balvenie was then Douglas land, but the first of that family to take his designation from the place was James Douglas of Balvenie, who had it in gift from his brother, the fourth earl, some time before 1426, which is the date of the royal charter of confirmation. He then, we may confidently infer, was the first builder of Balvenie Castle. Plan and history converge to the same conclusion.

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[1] *Dirunal of Occurrents.*

[2] *Border Papers*, II, No. 484.

[3] *History of the Sheriffdom of Linlithgow*, pp. 17, 18.

That some new influence had entered into castle planning by the fifteenth century has been generally recognised, but not its nature or origin. The term "palace" had even been observed. But while some examples were set aside as exceptional, because they could not be fitted into the accepted framework, others, like Huntly, were made to qualify for a place under the singular locution of "extended" or "oblong keeps." But no Scottish nobleman ever instructed his builder to raise an "extended keep" even "with modifications." No builder would have known what a "keep" was. Palace he would have understood. Under a Privy Seal licence of 1538 Walter Ogilvy of Dunlugas was to erect in Banff a house built "palice wys" which was to have barmkin, battleing "gun-hollis and other munitiones and fortalices" as the owner "sall think expedient." Leslie refers to it as "a new palace," which further shows that Leslie in his general use of the word was speaking by the card and not in mere literary affectation.

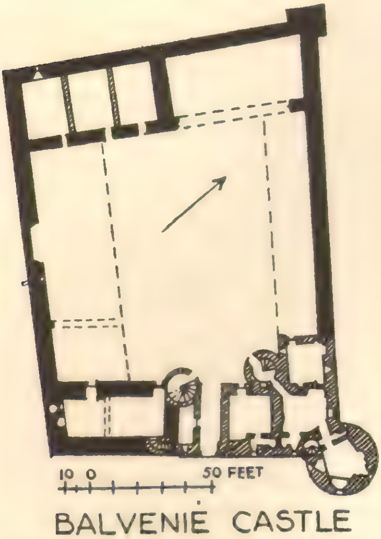

FIG. 12.—The hatched portion represents work of *c.* 1550

The argument is being somewhat laboured, but that is because it is of vital importance. It bears that "palace" was a term descriptive of a particular class of building and had no reference to the rank of its occupant.[1] The palace of a king (*palatium regis*) was but one case, as indeed the qualifying word intimates; the palace of a laird (*palatium baronis*) was another. A "palace" was among the principal buildings of the priory of Beauly in 1571.[2] A bishop's house was not *ipso facto* a palace. It acquired that designation from the style of building obviously not from the sacred associations of its tenant. Spynie, the seat of the Bishop of Moray, was a *palatium* in 1470;[3] this was the building of Bishop Innes (1407-14). The great tower was added by Bishop Stewart (died 1475). In 1569 we have reference to "the castle, tower, palace, and fortalice of Spynie."[4] Palace was no longer a sufficient description; there was also the tower. The Archbishop of St. Andrews occupied the Castle of St. Andrews.[5] A document of 1630 is dated "at the bishop's castle at the Canonry of Ross." Recognition of this significance then means a new category of classification, valid for its time and explanatory of contemporary usage. Incidentally it clears certain writers of the crime of Scottish pretentiousness. Captain Burt[6] on coming to Scotland in 1730 read *A Journey through Scotland* (J. Macky), published seven years before. His complaint is that the author "calls almost all their houses palaces." This is an exaggeration; the palaces are in a minority, the name being restricted to seats like Yester, Pinkie House, Dalkeith—still called a palace—Castle Gordon, Lochleven House, built by Sir William Bruce, and some others. Burt thinks it simply a "pompous title." No doubt he would have thought the same of the "palaces" in Wales, four such having been recorded in Pembrokeshire,[1] for none of which can either royal or episcopal occupation be established.

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[1] There were thirty *palazzi* in Florence before the end of the fifteenth century; they had no relation to kings or bishops. Brunelleschi fixed the type there in the first quarter of the century, and its influence was to affect western and northern plans later on, directly or through France (cf. pp. 175-6).

[2] *Records of the Monastery of Kinloss*, p. 97.

[3] *R.M.S.*, *s.a.*, No. 1051.

[4] *Ibid.*, No. 1907.

[5] *Arx episcopalis* in a view of *c.* 1540.

[6] *Letters from a Gentleman in the North of Scotland, etc.*, Letter I.

Macky has some other observations of interest. The prominence of the gallery as an apartment indicates how closely it was connected with this relatively long and narrow type of house. As we have noticed the gallery appears with the palace or hall plan (p. 121). At Leslie, Fife, was the longest gallery Macky ever saw "fill'd from one end to the other with family pictures."[2] The gallery at Earlshall has been preserved in its original splendour of a painted ceiling. Another point is that the palace was not necessarily restricted to the original two storeys (cf. last par. of Appendix C). Castle Gordon, according to Macky, was "very high" and the Palace of Glamis "the highest I ever saw."

Further it was not necessary to the palace plan that it should be a complete quadrangle of building all in the same mode. The palace building proper might occupy but one side or two sides, while the rest of the enclosure would be walled as a close, with perhaps minor buildings against the wall. Fyvie and Fetteresso, when Leslie called them *palatia*, had but one great front of building: the remainder would be barmkin, as in the case of Ogilvie's palace in Banff. It was sufficient for the name that the main building should be of the hall character. Indeed the Scottish "palace" is own brother to the English "hall," the Scots preferring the more pedantic term. Examples of the English usage are not numerous in Scotland.[1] Earlshall in Fife might have been Earl's Palace, as at Kirkwall. An interesting case occurs in " the Moit called Newhall of Kinrossie " in Cullace parish, Perthshire.[2] The significance of this reference is increased when we consider the case of the low, ditched, artificial mound called Palace Yard in Kirkcudbrightshire. The area within the ditch measures about two acres. At one end the foundations of a large oblong rectangular building are apparent beneath the turf.[3] This building, obviously a hall, is the origin of the name palace in the manner explained above.[4] The building then which in the case of one mound has left the name hall, in the other has transmitted palace—the one name the equivalent of the other. Wherever we can track down this name to its origin, we find a rectangular hall building in question. And we see further that such mounds might possess not a tower but a hall and other buildings within an enclosure.[5]

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[1] *Inventory of Ancient Monuments in Pembrokeshire, Royal Commission.*

[2] "The lordship and barony of Leslie with the palace" is the expression in a charter of 1606 (*R.M.S., s.a.*, No. 1805). The Gallery measured 157 by 23 feet (*Vitruvius Scoticus*, Pl. 66).

Returning to the particular kind of castles under discussion we see that to extend the same sort of building round the whole enclosed site was an obvious expedient, if necessity arose. Thus in time came the general conception of a palace as a block of building with a central court, a complete enclosure of building, as in the case of Raploch, Stirlingshire, built about the end of the sixteenth century "in forme of a palace, but with a court much longer than broad."[1] We can see the process of growth in the two stages of Fyvie. Sir William Brereton, travelling in Scotland in 1636, describes the King's "very fair palace" of Linlithgow as "built castlewise," that is in the ancient sense of the castle as an enclosure (cf. p. 38). But Holyrood Palace did not take on this character till its reconstruction under Charles II. As we see it under the Commonwealth, and as it no doubt was in origin, it formed but a front palatial block with the tower at one corner and a yard or close with subordinate buildings behind. Similar in character but without any enclosure was the Parliament House in Edinburgh in 1646—*Palatium vulgo Domus Parliamenti.*[2]

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[1] The various Haltouns or Hattons (" Hall-town "), however, probably point to a wider use of hall at an earlier time. Rising Hall is a terraced mote not far from Roxburgh.

[2] *Reg. Mag. Sig.*, 1549, No. 13. We probably have a case in point in the account, early in the seventeenth century, of how the town of Annan, being too poor to build a church, was granted " the hous callit the castell of Annand, the hall and towre thairof to serve for ane kirk " (*Reg. P. Co.*, VI, p. 441). It may be assumed that the tower was attached to the building known as the hall, as in the cases noted above.

[3] *Inventory of Anct. Monts. in Stewartry of Kirkcudbright*, No. 176. Cf. also the case of Palace Isle, site of Castle Fergus, No. 263.

[4] Alleged connection with Edward I on his visit to Galloway in 1300 may be disregarded ; it is so obviously a late effort to explain the name by connecting the palace with a king.

[5] Cf. p. 20. In 1823 the ditch is described as " filled with water," and " a drawbridge yet remains in perfection." Cited in *P.S.A.S.*, XXVII, p. 178.

At the risk of being tedious let me recapitulate the argument. In the Middle Ages there were two types of dwelling, the tower and the hall, the former a tall circular or four-square building, the latter long, not very high (at any rate to begin with), and narrow in proportion to its length.[3] The distinction can best be realised by comparing the plans in Figs. 17, 11. With the former type we get the tower-plan of castles, a tower or towers with connecting and enclosing wall (cf. Appendix C). When the enclosure is sufficiently ample there may be within it other buildings, among them a hall. Such a hall was known sometimes by the name of palatium or palace to mark its difference from the sterner aspect of the tower. When this hall or palatium was made the basis of the castellated construction, when it was incorporated like the tower of old as part of the enclosure, when it came to determine the lay-out and general appearance of the whole, we get a type of plan for which I suggest the name of the palace plan.

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[1] *Memorie of the Somervilles* (1679), II, p. 140.

[2] *Bannatyne Miscellany*, II, p. 410, with illustration.

[3] Certain dimensions are worth considering in this connection. Huntly's hall at the castle of Inverness (p. 113) was to be 100 feet in length, 30 feet in width and the same in height. At Cambusnethan (p. 208) the "great house" was 100 feet by 30 feet within walls; while Cowthally had a "quarter" or side upwards of 100 feet long (Appendix C). These measurements, too, are common in the refectories of monastic houses (cf. p. 150). At Chester, Durham and Kirkstall the refectory measures 100 feet in length by 32, 31 and 30 feet respectively, while at Jervaulx it is 101 by 30 feet. These are typical "hall" proportions.

The term palace does indeed appear at a certain epoch in Scotland as the name for a class of structures that can be said to have evolved in the manner indicated Here, too, it persisted to an exceptional degree. Palace was not in origin the special title of the residence of a king or bishop—we have seen it applied to the house of a baron ; nor did it at first merely indicate a quadrangular structure with a central court, since there were palaces with no such court and some with but one side or two or three sides of building ; nor did it signify a dwelling of some magnificence, since some at least were not specially so distinguished. It was therefore the character of the structure itself that answered to the name. What that character was we have seen. The new fashion of castle did not spread uniformly or necessarily supplant entirely the earlier form. Nor was it actually standardised ; it was an adaptable conception. We are dealing with a human art under greatly varying circumstances, not with a mechanism. But what development there was followed those lines. One early outcome of the application of this type of building is the appearance of the lengthy room known as the gallery. In the fully developed plan the tower as such disappears and the quadrangular set of buildings round a central court provides the palace of general acceptance. The court is the survival of the castle enclosure : the buildings occupy the place of the old curtain wall. One result is that the earlier meaning of the word has been forgotten. Hence the ignoring of a long prevalent Scotticism in the country's "palaces," as if the term were merely a loose or foolish anticipation of our purely modern usage.

Behind the newer plan and the adaptation of older plans to the same effect there is one common impulse —the reaching out to a more spacious and splendid mode of life. The fifteenth century is distinguished by a great expansion in the direction of comfort and display. It became the fashion to make a show of valuable plate upon the cupboards. Even dress, which in the thirteenth century was simple and regularised, was now blossoming out in bewildering variety of shape and colour. Happily there is always the Puritanic mind to help us by recording for censure such manifestations. In the first quarter of the next century Hector Boece was deploring the degeneration of his own days, degeneration due to avarice and luxurious living in contrast with the simple food, dress, and manners of the men of old. 'Twas ever thus.

For us it means that, among other things, the military side of the castle was definitely yielding in prominence to its milder equipment. The same thing was happening in England.

But we must not pitch our expectations too high. It was still possible in some parts of the country for a castle to rise as it were from the dead. This too was the case even in England, where of Ashby-de-la-Zouch, built in the last quarter of the fifteenth century, it has been said that " four centuries of the struggle for comfort and luxury seem to have brought the castle builders to a point not far removed from that from which they set out."[1] So indifferent were they to the advance of military science! Least of all can we expect a swift adoption of new ideas in the western Highlands and Isles. Remark was made at an earlier stage on the archaic appearance of Kismul Castle at Castlebay, Barra (Pl. XX), which cannot have begun to be built before 1427 when the island came into the possession of the MacNeils. It stands on a little rocky islet and its smooth grey walls rise almost from the water's edge above the thick fringe of tawny seaweed. It is the only structure of its kind in the Outer Hebrides, where the now vanished Castle of Stornoway alone could ever have matched it. A square tower about 50 feet high overlooks an enclosure formed by walls 6 feet thick and about half the height of the tower, with two corners carried to a height of 33 feet. Tower and wall have archaic deep crenellations widely spread with sills about a man's height above the walk. Below these, however, is a line of square openings for observation, and at the tower parapet walk are the remains of a series of steps rising to a narrow scarcement, which served as or supported a walk at a higher level. Round the sides of the enclosure are the remains, more or less, of a series of buildings, ending at the south-east in a house with a crow-stepped gable, which may well be of the early eighteenth century. Martin writing of the place about the end of the seventeenth century says that within the walls were "an old tower and a hall, with other houses about it." He was not allowed to visit the castle because the owner and his lady were absent, but he says he was informed some weeks after "that the constable was very apprehensive of some design I might have in visiting the fort, and thereby to expose it to the conquest of a foreign power." Evidently " Kishmul's Castle, our ancient glory " was a place of serious importance for the islanders. Our special interest is in the fact that it was as old-fashioned in style as the quilted coat which continued to be the body armour of the island chiefs in the days of armour of plate.

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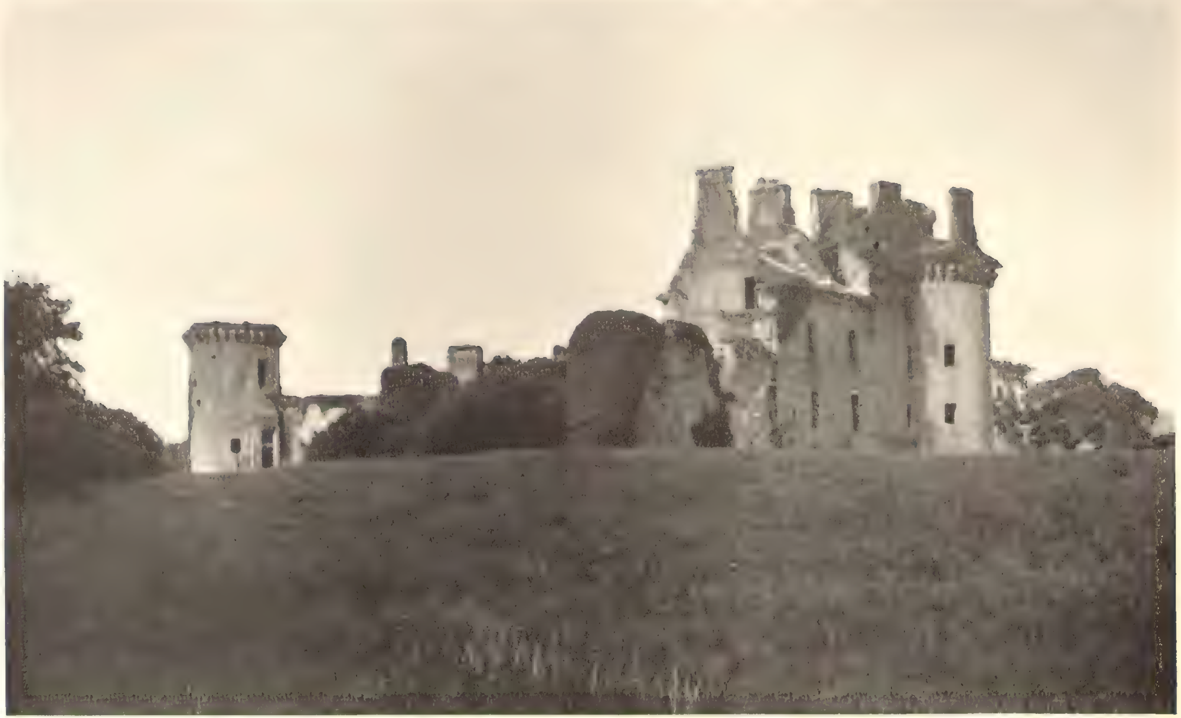
[1] Harvey's *Castles and Walled Towns of England*, p. 186.

II

The structural and residential prominence now being given to the hall affected also earlier castles planned under a different conception. In relation to these, however, its position and effect were determined by what already existed. At Bothwell, for example, a new hall was raised just within and parallel to the east curtain. As its walls are not bonded into either the chapel wall at one end or the curtain wall at the other, it would seem to have been of later construction than the chapel. The building in the chapel wall too is of much finer workmanship. Further, the upper half of the front wall of the hall is inferior work in appearance to that below, while the vaulting of the three cellars is obviously a later insertion, probably from its characteristics much later. The nine close-set windows of the clerestory and the great window at the south end are all grooved to hold iron frames for glass. Such an expenditure on glazing over a limited area would be excessively costly for the end of the fourteenth century in Scotland. Not till a hundred years later, to judge from the royal accounts, was glazing a common equipment of great houses. On the whole then the hall was probably not a contribution by Archibald the Grim (cf. p. 53). But on this matter, as on the stages through which the hall seems to have passed, it is difficult to come to a firm conclusion.



CAERLAVEROCK: SOUTH AND EAST SIDES

At the other early castle of Dirleton a new hall range with appropriate quarters at either end was constructed so as to constitute the east side. It overrides the basement courses of former angle towers and is carried beyond the line of the original north wall. There was apparently no impulse to retain or reconstruct these towers. A straight joint in the northern section of the vaulting of the basement seems to indicate a stage in building, but as a whole the erection of this range is probably contained within the fifteenth century. Work of some importance, however, was being done at Dirleton in 1505 when the King on a visit gave "drink-silver" to the masons. The castle then belonged to the Halyburtons, as it had done since the same time in the first half of the fourteenth century when a Halyburton married the De Vaux heiress. It had come with a lass and it passed with a lass early in the sixteenth century to the Ruthvens, afterwards Earls of Gowrie. To their tenancy, ending with the Gowrie Conspiracy of 1600, must be attributed the house of three storeys in a plain Renaissance style built against the oldest portion on the south face.

Caerlaverock, like the other castles of its type, displays a similar series of constructions or reconstructions on the newer lines. A two-storeyed house along the west side is the earliest of these, dating probably from the opening years of the sixteenth century.[1] Then came the building of two storeys on the south flank, which alone could be called or could contain what was known as the *Long Hall*. Little of this remains beyond a portion of the front wall with Renaissance doorway and windows. The east side of the courtyard is occupied by one of the handsomest of Scottish castle buildings, the pediments of its windows being charged with sculptures, some heraldic, others of legendary subjects. In contrast with the earlier west range this house has windows pierced in the original curtain wall. The whole of this elaborate Renaissance work was due to Robert Maxwell, first Earl of Nithsdale, before 1638. The construction of such buildings had no place for military provision even as a survival; yet within a few years (1640) Caerlaverock was to undergo the

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[1] Cf. G. P. H. Watson, "The Development of Caerlaverock Castle," *Proc. Soc. Ant. Scot.*, 1922-3, pp. 29-40.

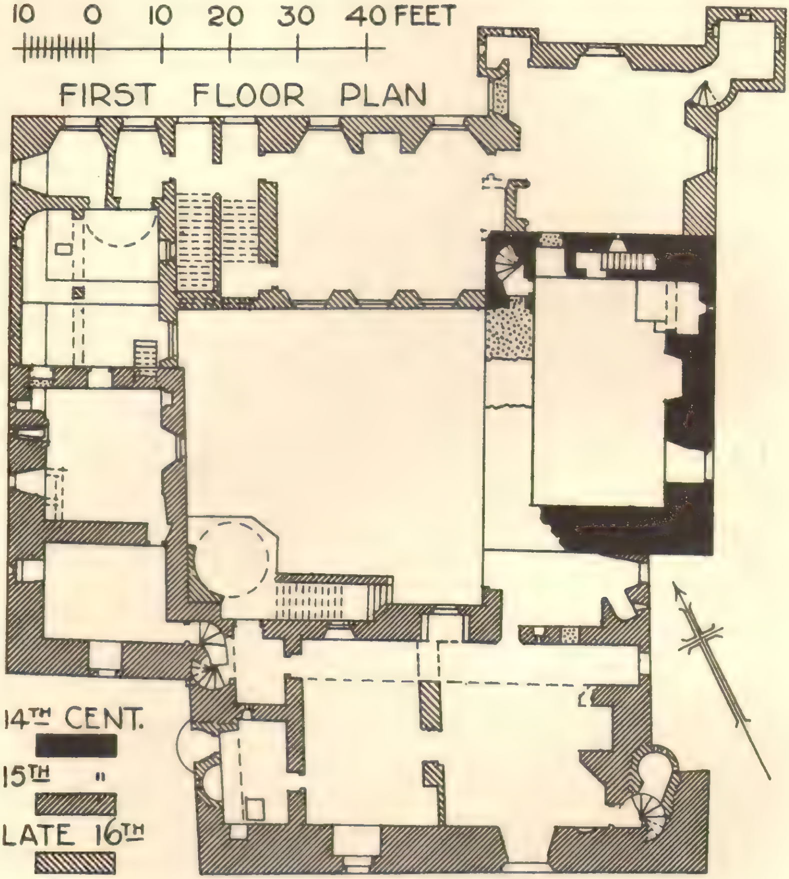
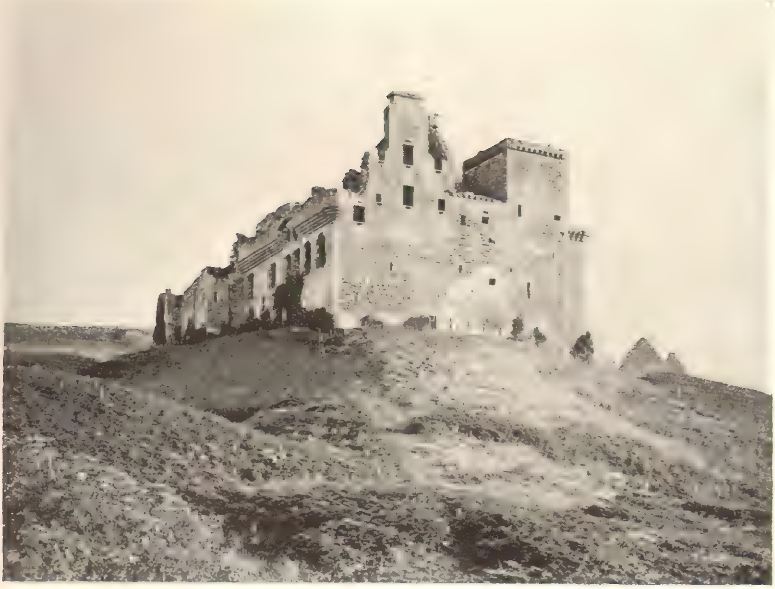
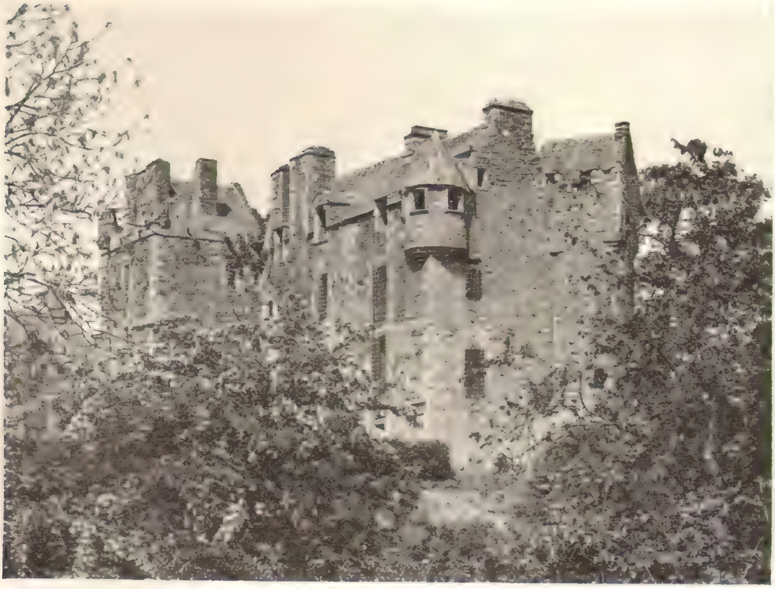


Fig. 13.—Crichton Castle, Midlothian



CRICHTON CASTLE, FROM S.W.
Late XVI Century building to left : XV tower on right



ELCHO CASTLE (p. 209)

longest siege of its history under the cannon of the Covenanters.

There are other examples, however, in which the new plan has been constituted by the additional buildings themselves, the original nucleus being a tower. Crichton Castle, Midlothian, is in this category. The simple rectangular tower is of the later fourteenth century, and had a vaulted basement with the upper part of the vault floored as a separate apartment, above which was a vaulted hall and a second storey. In the north-east corner was fitted a tiny kitchen above a small prison. This was the accommodation of James I's Chancellor, Sir William Crichton, who was so prominent a political figure in the minority of James II. In the course of political rivalry with the Douglases the tower was in part destroyed in 1445, and the upper part shows reconstruction. Crichton was clever enough to regain his position as Chancellor, and to him or his immediate successor may be attributed the extensive addition during the fifteenth century of the south wing and part of the west wing. An entrance was provided in the south wing through a vaulted pend. At the south-west corner rose a new tower of six storeys, and the projecting south-east corner, in which was the stair, apparently reached a higher level in its top storey or cap-house, since the machicolated parapet does not return round what remains. North of the tower was a two-storeyed building, the upper floor of which contained a kitchen. But in the late sixteenth century this low building was heightened and absorbed in the new portion which was raised along the north side.

This northern wing with its short return in the west is unique in character. At ground level is an arcade of seven bays, the piers of which rest on bell-shaped bases and have sixteen faces, each alternate face being continued into the capital, where it terminates in a volute. Behind the arcade open the usual vaulted cellars. An arcade or verandah is obviously a contribution from sunnier southern lands; at Holyrood Palace, as constructed in 1672, it is called a gallery. The wall above the arcade is faced with stones cut to five faces. The staircase is in straight flights with landings, the newel being formed of attached shafts with unusually enriched capitals and bases; and the soffits of the landings are cut to a pattern in imitation of plaster work. The windows are symmetrically arranged. Externally also this wing is markedly individualised with its row of great windows below a continuous corbel course of four members, over which runs a string carved to a cable ornament. At the same time a new pended entrance was provided on the east side, where the doorway has a lintel with Renaissance mouldings and is ornamented with cherubs. It must be observed that there is no particular provision for defence at the entrances to the close, and that there is no reticence in the size of the windows.

This part of the castle, then, is quite exotic in character and suggests clearly a foreign southern derivation. It was the almost incongruous magnificence of this wing that impressed Sir Walter Scott, for whom Crichton was a " loved resort " :—

> " Nor wholly yet has time defaced
>   Thy lordly gallery fair ;
> Nor yet the stony cord unbraced,
> Whose twisted knots, with roses laced,
>   Adorn thy ruin'd stair.
> Still rises unimpair'd below
> The courtyard's graceful portico.
> Above its cornice, row and row
> Of fair hewn facets richly show
>   Their pointed diamond form."

The person responsible for its building can be determined by the monogram or, as it was called, the " cipher " which adorns the faces of two of the piers in the arcade, made up of the letters F, S, and M, D, being Francis Stewart, fifth Earl of Bothwell, nephew to the Earl who married Queen Mary, and Margaret Douglas, daughter of the seventh Earl of Angus, his wife. The central line is continued above and below into an anchor, and Francis bore this anchor also on his seal; no doubt because like his uncle he was Lord High Admiral of Scotland. This is the Francis who pursued such a puzzling and explosive political course in the early part of the reign of James VI. He was sent for by James to return to Scotland from Italy in 1581,[1] very possibly from Padua where Scotsmen studied at the University. He entertained the King at Crichton in January, 1585. The present building therefore dates between 1581, when he returned, and 1593 when he was forfeited. Italy seems to have turned his head as it did that of other young Scottish noblemen at the time, among them the luckless Ruthvens of the Gowrie Conspiracy. Crichton Castle preserves the most tangible result of this international connection, and almost certainly testifies to the presence of an Italian designer at least (Pl. XXIV).

The castle of Craigmillar reached its present form in a rather different fashion. The property came into the hands of Simon Preston, an Edinburgh burgess, in 1374, and the Preston family was long conspicuous in the burghal annals of the city. The tower at Craigmillar probably dates from about that time, though it presents features, like the hall fireplace, which point to a later period, and an access on the east side is also later; while the uppermost part of the wing with its crow-stepped gables is a reconstruction of the sixteenth century. At Craigmillar, however, the enclosure was not constituted by the buildings themselves, as at Crichton, but by a fifteenth century curtain wall, against which these buildings were erected. The panel above the entrance on the north front bore the date 1427, according to Nisbet: the figures are now unrecognisable. The structures on the east side of the tower are of that century and the sixteenth; the greater part of those on the west of the tower is of the seventeenth century. One cardinal fact in the history of the castle is its being sacked and burned by the Earl of Hertford in 1544. It surrendered upon condition that no damage was done, while many citizens of Edinburgh had placed their valuables there for safety against the invaders.[1] Reconstruction to some extent must then have followed upon Hertford's breach of faith. The great outer enclosure is of the early sixteenth century:

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[1] *Border Papers*, p. 76.

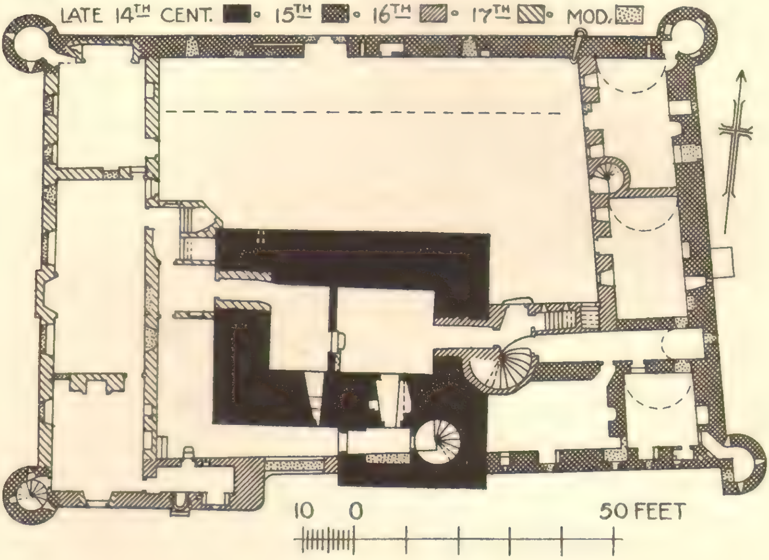

Fig. 14.—Craigmillar Castle

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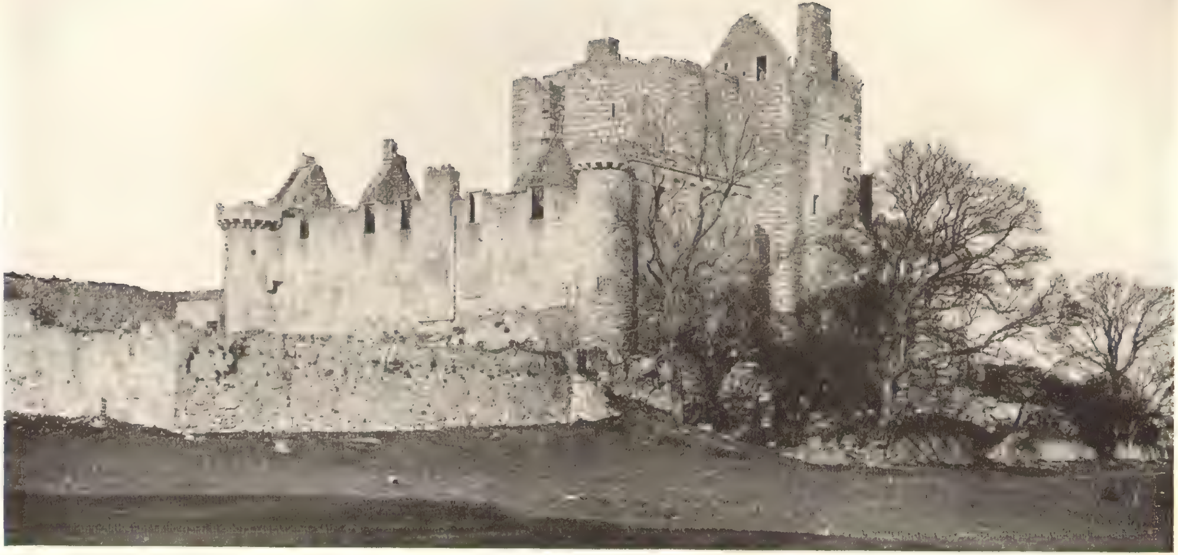
[1] *Diurnal of Occurrents.*

PLATE XXIII



CRAIGMILLAR CASTLE, FROM S.W.

a panel over the entrance to the building that touched the west tower on the north face of the inner court bears the date 1510. The buildings within this outer enclosure appear to have been for garden and farm use: that castle buildings should include something in the nature of a farmsteading is agreeable to our general point of view; the same thing is indicated by the licence to build at Urquhart, Loch Ness, in 1509, which specifically provides for barn, byre, dairy, kiln, and such like. The building in the outer east enclosure at Craigmillar is a pre-Reformation chapel. Again we may note the absence of any special provision for defence at the entrance either to the outer or to the inner court.

An instructive case is presented to us in Dunnottar Castle on the coast of Kincardineshire. "Our palace of Dunnottar" it is called by the sixth Earl Marischal writing to the King of Poland in 1634; and it is described by an eighteenth century writer as "a Palace and a Fort." Here we have an almost isolated precipitous mass of conglomerate rising to 160 feet in height, the natural advantages of which made an enclosing wall superfluous. On three sides it is washed by the sea; on the land side it faces a great gully which intervenes between it and the mainland plateau, and here only was a short stretch of curtain wall necessary. In this wall is the entrance. An area of 3½ acres is occupied by single or associated buildings unrelated in plan and for the greater part placed on the margins of the rock. The oldest part is the tower, possibly of the end of the fourteenth century, as already explained, but possessing features, such as the character of its corbelled parapet and the moulding of the jambs of its original kitchen fireplace, which suggest the century following. The tower was once the sole building and communicated by a walled enclosure and a flight of steps with a postern gate overlooking the south bay.

The curtain wall with the entrance in its original form is possibly of the same date as the tower. At a much later time, however, this portion received considerable additions. On the south flank rises a tower, the lower portion pierced for small guns, while the upper, entered from the higher level, forms a residence known as Benholm's Lodging; the billet ornaments on the chimney heads indicate a date towards the close of the sixteenth century. Other buildings forming a gatehouse just behind the outer wall may be rather earlier.

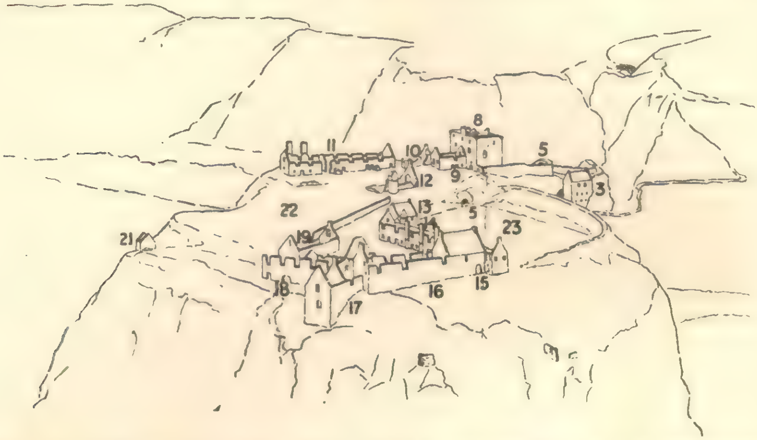


FIG. 15.—DUNNOTTAR CASTLE: Bird's eye view from the north-east

3 Benholm's Lodging.
5 Vaulted Gateway or Pend.
8 The Tower.
9 The Magazine or Storehouse.
10 The Smithy.
11 Stables and Chambers.
12 Waterton's Lodging.
13 Silver House.
14 The Seven Chambers: Long Gallery above.
15 Seagate.
16 North Range: Cellars below.
17 "Whigs' Vault."
18 West Range: Kitchen, etc., below.
19 The Kirk.
21 Latrine.
22 The Meadow.
23 Bowling Green.

When the tower kitchen was brought from the small room on the first floor of the wing to the vaulted basement of the main block, a fresh provision for storage had to be made in the vaulted building almost opposite the door. The building just beyond is the smiddy or forge with rooms above, all now in a very ruinous condition. Under pressure for yet fuller accommodation a free-standing house was erected beyond, in time known as Waterton's Lodging. Its stair turret, corbelled out above to a square room, is of a style familiar in the second half of the sixteenth century. On this follows an expansion of building on a much more imposing scale. It begins with a long range running north and south on the western half of the summit, the lower part of which was divided into Seven Chambers, by which name it was known, the upper floor being the Long Gallery with a chamber at its southern end. Each of the seven chambers has its own fireplace and the independent chimney stacks are made an architectural feature. The approach to the gallery was by a platt stair in the attached tower at the south-west corner, the upper floor of which was known as the Silver House, probably from its use as a safe place for the family plate. All this time the tower kitchen and its stores must have remained in ordinary use. But the next step was to erect a wing on the east almost parallel with the Long Gallery—but thrown out of line by the intrusion of the Kirk—where the ground floor was devoted to kitchen purposes, with bakehouse, brewhouse, and larder ; while a kitchen with ample storage found place in the basement of a north wing connecting the other with the gallery building, where it blocked the lights at the junction. Thus was formed the Close, in which is the circular reservoir which was the only obvious supply of water.

Probably the latest bit of work is the west wing from the Close, the lower part of which, with the small cellar below, was a store. The confinement of Covenanters here in 1685 has for ever fixed its designation as the Whig's Vault. On the upper floor were two apartments, one known as the King's Chamber, this being the suite occupied by the royal visitor.

One block remains, that on the southern margin, variously styled offices, wardrobe, and stables. At either extremity are superimposed chambers, and above the stable in the basement was a long loft, these upper parts being reached by outside stone stairs. This portion dates with the Long Gallery.

Dunnottar was the principal seat of the Keiths, Earls Marischal, and therefore grew with their wealth and dignity. A couple of inscribed stones may help in marking stages in this growth. One at Dunnottar Mains, said to have been found at the castle, bears the initials V (for W) and K, with the date 1567. This year falls within the life of William Keith the fourth Earl Marischal, "William of the Tower." By that time it was becoming a fashion to place an inscribed record upon some part of a building, such as a skew-put, the lowest coping-stone of the gable, or a lintel or later a window pediment, to indicate the builder and year. The date here would suit the house known as Waterton's Lodging. Another stone is a carved pediment bearing the arms and initials of William the fifth Earl Marischal and his wife Elizabeth Seton with the year 1645. This must have come from one of the dormer windows in the buildings of the Close, and furnishes a probable period for the erection of the later part.[1]

In this connection the royal palaces are a special case, those of Edinburgh and Stirling finding place within the castle proper, Linlithgow and Falkland suffering a wholesale transformation. But while Linlithgow Palace was slowly reconstructed, more drastic methods were applied to Falkland. In the last quarter of the fourteenth century it is mentioned as a tower. Then in James II's time, after his marriage, it comes into favour with the court as the "castle" or "manor" of Falkland. In 1459 we have notice of the repair, erection, and roofing of different houses—hall, chambers, kitchen, bakery, brewhouse, counting-house, and stables for the horses of the king and queen. Expenditure of this sort goes on for some years: we hear of the hay-yard and hay-barn and other structures proper to a farmyard, such as formed part of the equipment of many castles.

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[1] For further details, *The Castle of Dunnottar*, by the Rev. D. G. Barron, D.D., pp. xiv-xxxiii.

It seems to be this farmyard enclosure or front court to the south which became the site of the elaborate palace buildings of which the southern portion and the internal wall on the east now survive. The building on the east side was still "new" in 1516: by 1537 when the great construction period began it was the "old ludging." The outer projecting tower was known as the "cross-house." The "western lodging" of 1538 is all gone, so are the buildings on the north wing,[1] which included the king's bedchamber, closet, cross-chamber, and gallery. In the sixteenth century work we have the design and execution of French master masons and their assistants, French, Flemings, and Scots, as recorded in 1539-40; it is Renaissance in the French style, of which the earliest example is the palace buildings in Stirling Castle, which represents "the kingis house" begun in 1496. By the first quarter of the sixteenth century French masons were becoming familiar in Scotland: in 1532 two of them as "calsay makers" were employed by the Corporation of Edinburgh to pave the streets of the town. After the marriage of James V with Mary of Guise, the Duc de Guise is found sending masons from France to the king. The finest of the palace work at Stirling is no doubt due to such hands. Others come later, but the cleavage of the Reformation with its anti-French sequel puts a term to such direction.

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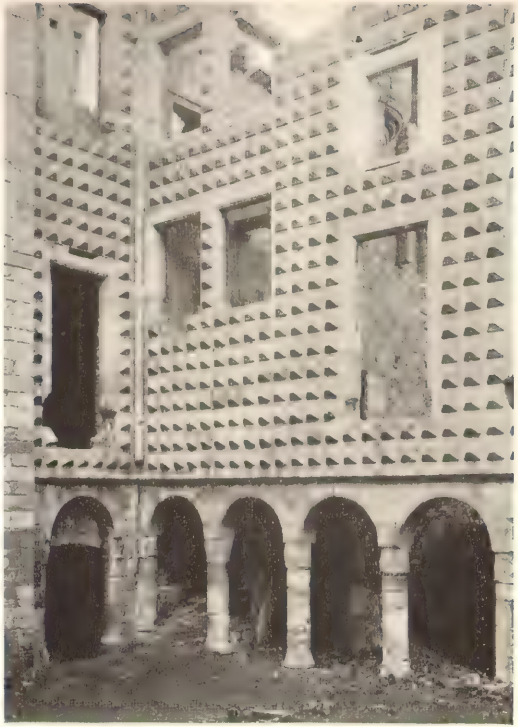
[1] "The other two Parts of the Quadrangle were burnt down by Oliver Cromwell's Army" (*A Journey through Scotland*, 1723 (J. Macky), p. 163).

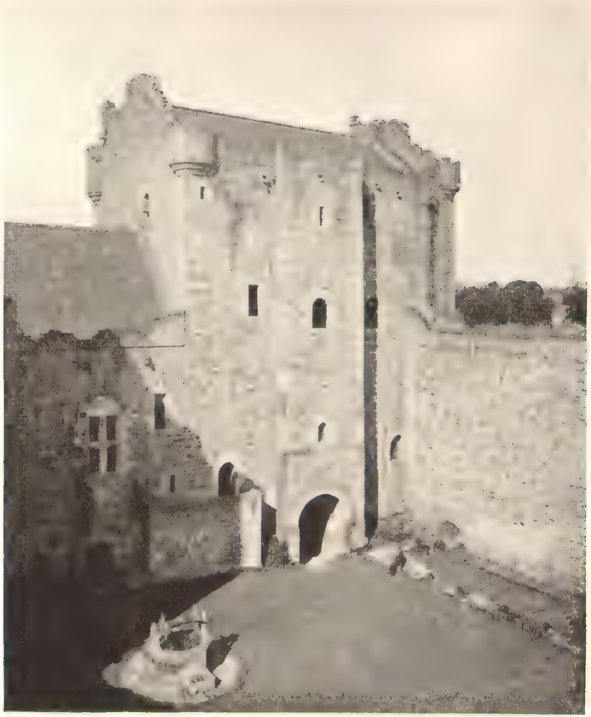
Edinburgh Castle too had its palatial quarter, but during these centuries it had become a particularly miscellaneous set of structures. It was a royal residence and centre of administration with a treasurer's house, Register house, and Mint ; but was also an arsenal with an equipment of workshops. The Earl of Arran, as we have seen during his term as regent for the young Queen Mary, used his opportunities to expend large sums of public money on his various residences and had doors and windows and iron and timber work generally prepared in the workshops of the castle. The windows were iron cases for glass. Edinburgh Castle was not then much in favour as a residence for the court. James II and his Queen, Mary of Gueldres, rather favoured Falkland ; the Queen indeed seems to have had a partiality for Fife, where on her husband's death she started to build the Castle of Ravenscraig or Ravensheugh. Linlithgow Palace was part of the jointure of the queens of James III, IV, and V, the last, Mary of Guise, being apparently specially partial to it. James IV and his successor lived much at Stirling, but are also responsible for the origination of Holyrood Palace in connection with the Abbey.

What we see in the latest buildings of these and other castles is the intrusion of a new force, the art of the Renaissance related to new ideas in social life and the state. Though the latter half of the sixteenth century in Scotland was a turbulent time, it was mainly because

PLATE XXIV



CRICHTON CASTLE: RENAISSANCE BUILDING (p. 168)



CASTLE DOUNE: INTERIOR

Great tower to right: hall building (p. 144) to left: outside stair (p. 126): well (p. 130) in foreground: chapel window on second floor of bay (p. 120)

of the Reformation or rather Protestant Revolution with its attendant troubles and its sequel of politico-ecclesiastical conflict. The issues were no longer mere questions of family aggrandisement and no longer even purely local; all western Europe was shaken by them. A new nobility rose on the spoils of the church and the profits of the law. The change of outlook, thus establishing itself, gave the opportunity for new ideals in architecture. The profession of arms was no longer the only occupation or interest befitting a gentleman; learning and art were also asserting a sway over men's minds. The convention of a military setting for noble houses died hard, but the Renaissance work at Dirleton, Caerlaverock, and Dunnottar show what was bound to come. Adaptations of classic detail overlie and then abolish Gothic detail; conceptions of regularity and symmetry of plan and features substitute orderly arrangement for the haphazard methods of the older time. Embattled walls, gatehouses, and towers may still be retained, but really because they are imposing and declare the privacy which the great desired. The mediaeval castle in conception and therefore even as a framework was dying with the old world in which alone it could flourish.

It is usual to lay great stress on the use of cannon in bringing about this transformation, but this factor can easily be over-estimated. Early cannon with very defective gunpowder and therefore low trajectory were scarcely, if at all, more effective than the great mediaeval siege-engines such as the *trebuchet* and the *mangonel*. Engines of this kind were used in the defence as well as the assault of castles: one remembers how in 1338 the Earl of Salisbury had a wooden covered way "commonly called a Sow" wheeled up to the walls of Dunbar Castle defended by the redoubtable Countess of March

"Bla(c)k Annas" (Agnes); how under this protection men approached to undermine the walls, whereupon the countess calling out "O Montagow! Montagow! be war, for ferry (farrow) sall thi sow" had a great stone discharged upon the construction, which smashed it in with the heads of many of its occupants.[1] Such machines had breached the walls of Chateau-Gaillard for Phillippe Auguste, and with masses of stone up to 300 lb. weight battered the defences of Stirling Castle for Edward I in 1304. It is not certain that the bombards of James II did secure the rendering of Threave Tower in 1455, but it is certain that all the king's guns in 1528 failed to force the surrender of Tantallon. Unless guns could be brought up close to the walls their power of destruction was very limited, and it is to this plan of keeping them at a fairly long range that we must attribute the earthworks in front of Tantallon, though these are probably survivals from Monk's successful siege in 1651. Caerlaverock, which had been captured by Edward I after a three days' siege in 1301, held out against the batteries of the Covenanters in 1640 for over three months; and similarly Threave in the same year maintained a resistance of thirteen weeks, capitulating with all the honours of war. During the Civil War of the seventeenth century it is remarkable how many places in England even of inferior strength maintained their defence, in some cases successfully, against the artillery of the Parliamentary forces. Similarly armour offered quite good protection against the earlier firearms—Dugald Dalgetty always held that tassets should be made bullet proof. Nevertheless armour disappeared when the need in tactics was for quick movement and therefore lightness of equipment. Apart altogether from such new weapons, the mediaeval castle was dying a natural death ;[1] its functions in a new order of society were becoming obsolete ; the brains of the thing were out and its end was assured.

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[1] *Scotich.*, Lib. XIII, cap. xl.

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[1] Cf. " Au point de vue politique, la creation de l'artillerie contribua asser peu, quoi qu'on en ait dit, à l'affermissement de l'actorité royale en France et à la ruine des forteresses féodales," i.e. " From the political point of view the invention of artillery, despite what is said, contributed but little to the strengthening of the royal authority in France and the ruin of the feudal fortresses " (Albert Malet, *Le Moyen Age*).

CHAPTER VI

THE TOWERS

Significance of the Tower—Towers as Lairds' Houses—General Features—Threave, Comlongon, Rusco—Towers with a Jamb or Wing—Borthwick, Greenknowe, Park Hay—Legal Standing of Fortalices—Border Towers—the Peel and Peel-house—Hoddom, Hills, Hollows, Repentance Tower, Amisfield—Disappearance of Parapet : Craigcaffie, Castle Craig, Coxton—Turret Rooms : Isle, Castle Stewart, Claypotts—Alphabetical Plans and their Real Significance—Late Reconstruction and Late Towers : Killochan, Spedlins, Cardoness, Preston, Scotstarvit.

AS the castle was the most characteristic structure of the Middle Ages, the tower was the most characteristic feature of a castle. It was the earliest form of feudal residence and so became symbolical of feudal power and status. For Sir Thomas Craig a baron's tower was a " mark of jurisdiction.[1] Thus it persisted to the end, incorporated in more extensive building or retained as a testimony to ancient importance among the more splendid erections of a later time. Long after either utility or convenience was served by a structure of this type, the nobility of Scotland, as also that of France and England, clung to the tower with its warlike equipment as an expression of class consciousness. As late as the end of the fourteenth century some French seigneurs were still building as residences independent towers of the fashion of

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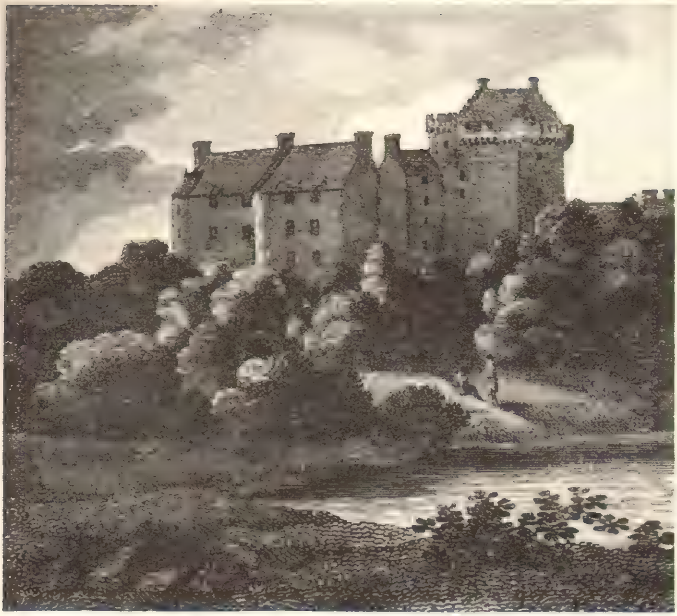
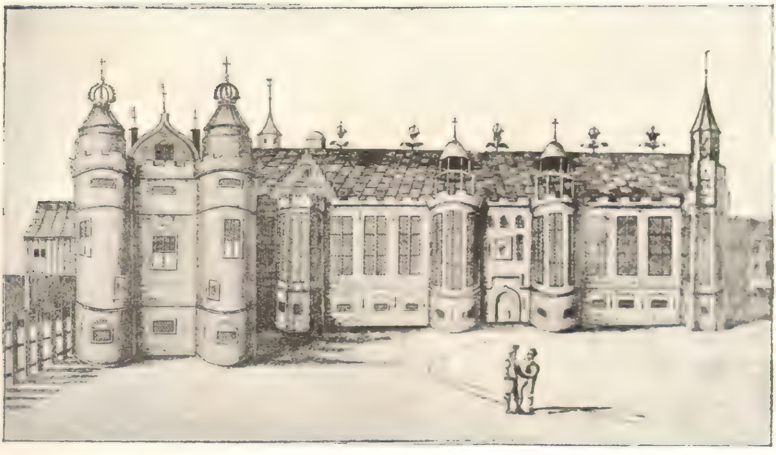
[1] *Praeter gladii potestatem solet Baro habere jus nundinarum et etiam turris fastigiatae ut ea essent signa jurisdictionis* (*Jus Feudale,* Lib. I, Dieg. 12, § 16). " Besides the power of the sword a baron is wont to have the right of instituting markets and also of (possessing) a turreted tower, that these may be marks of jurisdiction."



KILRAVOCK CASTLE (p. 210)

From an Old Print



HOLYROOD PALACE, A.D. 1650 (p. 160)

200 years before.[1] Tattershall Castle in Lincolnshire was built by Sir Ralph Cromwell, the Lord Treasurer, just before the middle of the fifteenth century; it is a tower of brick with stone dressings. Round its lofty summit is a machicolated and roofed parapet or gallery, and the plan and general features of the place might be of some centuries before rather than due to one who was also the builder of a place in the newest fashion like Wingfield Manor. There are several others in Lincolnshire of the same type and period. They signify little more than pride of rank and possessions. In the early sixteenth century James V of Scotland "foundit ane fair palice in the abbey of Halirudhous and ane greit towre to himself to rest into quhene he pleissit to come to the toun."[2] The tower was the king's private suite: he was unconscious of the prevailing modern assumption that nobody lived in a tower save from dire necessity or for some nefarious reason. Incidentally we note the association of palace and tower in the original Holyrood, the earlier type of the plan discussed in the previous chapter. That some towers are still inhabited, however, is due to reasons which have no bearing upon their old significance.

Apart from other considerations the impressive quality of a tower was its height. The nobles of Italy covered their country with towers which had little beyond their overweening loftiness to call for remark. David I of Scotland is eulogised as having exalted his country not merely with towers but with "lofty towers,"[3] albeit they can have been only of timber and daubing. In England in the late twelfth century Alexander Neckham bewails the "empty ostentation" which displayed itself in towers built "to threaten the stars and outsoar the peaks of Parnassus." About the same time it is told of Baldwin, Count of Flanders, that whereas, in a certain town, his father had no place suitable to his dignity in which to lay his head, he, Baldwin, had a noble tower erected that rose from the depths of the earth and hung in the air.[1]

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[1] Enlart, II, pp. 545-7; cf. also pp. 168-72.

[2] *Pitscottie*, Bk. XXI, Chap. 22.

[3] *Excelsis turribus—Scotich.* Lib. V, cap. liii.

I

With the development of the great enclosure castles, however, the free-standing tower with its barmkin and minor buildings, came to be confined generally to the lesser barons and country gentlemen. A traveller crossing the Border, a quarter of a century after the Union of the Crowns, remarks: "The houses of the Grames that were, are but one little stone tower garretted and slated or thatched, some of the form of a little tower not garretted; such be all the leards' (lairds') houses in Scotland."[2] What is meant is that a tower was the typical laird's house in Scotland. As there were degrees of lairdship, however, one man owning more acres than another, so there were degrees in the size and importance of their residences. But the general idea of such a place was the same throughout, as we see from the expressions used in one of the earlier of the official licences to build, that of 1424 for the "tower or fortalice of Dundas." It was to be in the fashion of a castle (*in modum castri*), that is with a barmkin, with "kernels" and other equipment "usual in a fortalice of this kind after the manner of the kingdom of Scotland."[3] There was thus, within these limits, a general idea of how such a place would be constructed, as far as Scotland was concerned: there was an accepted Scottish type.

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[1] *Gloriosam turrim ab abysso terrae in aërem suspendit*—Lamberti Ardensis, *Historia Ghisnensium Comitum*, Cap. 83.

[2] Lowther, in *Hist. MSS. Comm.* XIII, App., part vii.

[3] *Ad hujusmodi fortalicium juxta modum regni Scotie consuetis.*

The simplest form of tower was oblong on plan with a ground floor devoted to storage, a main floor or hall, a great chamber above and, if the construction allowed, an attic floor under the roof which might be flat or gabled. The walls were crowned with a parapet, 40 or 50 feet above ground, which might rise flush with the walls or project upon corbels. In course of time, however, towers appear in which the parapet shrinks to insignificance or is curtailed or entirely disappears, while turrets are built out at the angles and the whole aspect of the structure is embellished. Such turrets are a sixteenth century growth and not of early date in the century.

Indeed the later history of these buildings is marked by the greatest variety of treatment. Further complexity enters when buildings at a subsequent time have been partially reconstructed. Every example becomes a different example. Even those of the simplest kind have their differences of detail, and the simplest kind may be found right up to the close. At no stage is there any definite ratio of proportions or any common thickness of wall. Naturally the later towers average a lesser thickness of wall than the earlier, but the difference all over is not very great. A range of 6 to 8 feet will probably cover most examples. A few up to the middle of the sixteenth century are more massive; another few rather less. Comlongon in Dumfriesshire, a fifteenth century tower, has 11 foot walls: Liberton Tower in Midlothian of the same period has walls 5 feet thick.

Nor is there any rule as regards the leading structural features. The number of vaulted apartments in a tower is no indication of period. Threave of the later fourteenth century was vaulted in two compartments, but Braal in Caithness, of about the same time, had no vault on any floor; Dunnottar Tower, which is independent of the other buildings and also is late fourteenth century, had only the basement vaulted, while Castle Craig in the Black Isle had a timber floor only at the attic level, all below being vaulted; and Coxton Tower, Morayshire, of the early seventeenth century, is vaulted on every floor. Complete vaulting, indeed, is more characteristic of later than early times. In 1641, Sir Robert Gordon tells us, "the Earl of Sutherland did begin to repair the hous at Dunrobin, and finished the great tour the same yeir, wowting (vouting = vaulting) it to the top." The one universal characteristic in this respect, since the exceptions may be neglected, is that the ground floor of a tower is vaulted; whether any other floor is cannot be inferred either from age or locality; it depended on circumstances which can only be conjectured.

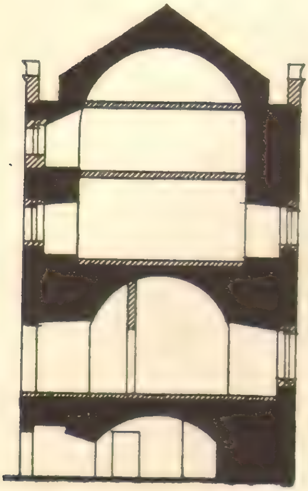


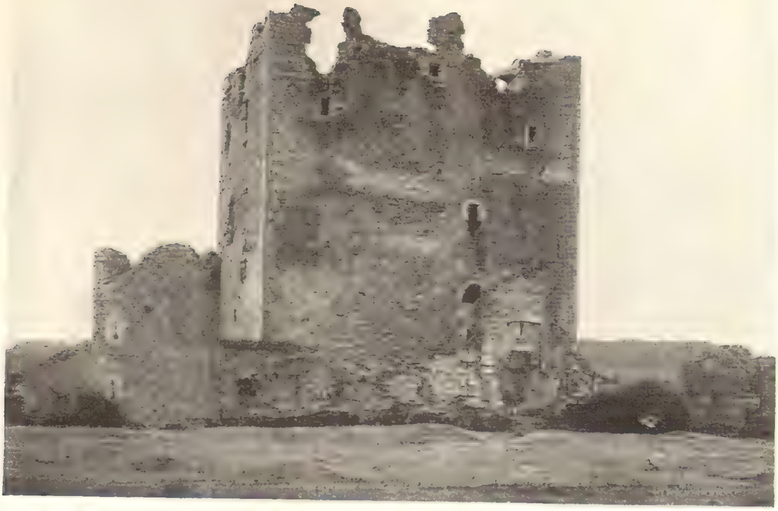
FIG. 16.—CLOSEBURN CASTLE. Section showing two vaulted and two timber floors with vaulted roof

It may be supposed an advantage in what came to be styled "a tour of fens" (defence) to have its principal entrance well above ground level. There are examples in which this is the case, but over the whole range they are relatively few. In the great majority of cases—to such an extent that one may say it is the rule—there is a single entrance on the ground floor. Where the principal entrance is on the first floor, there is usually also an entrance to the basement with a stair connection to the floor above ; but Closeburn, Dumfriesshire, has a basement with independent entrance, which was unlighted and has no communication above. This is an exceptional case.

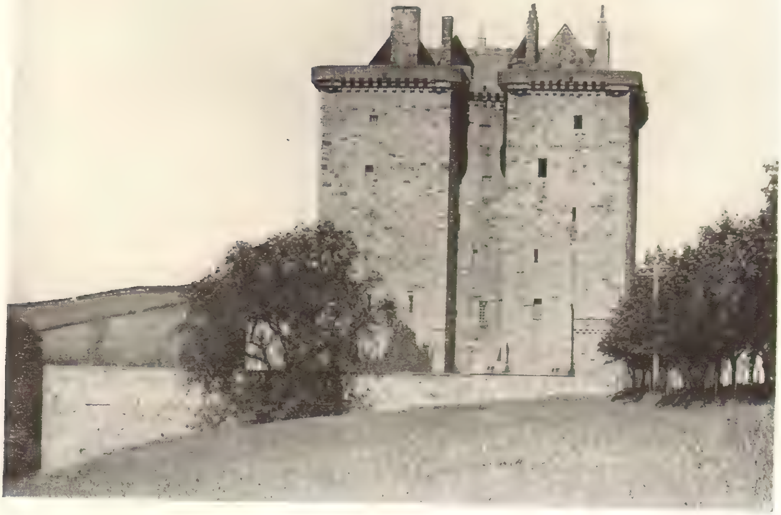
The generalisations, then, which we can make about the free-standing towers are few and broad. They have at least the ground floor vaulted ; the entrance is generally on the ground, and a stair immediately adjoining, the lowest flight of which may be straight, rises to the roof, serving all floors and terminating at the parapets—if there is a parapet—in a small chamber known as the cap-house, which is also available as an observation post. Clackmannan Tower and Sauchie Tower supply good examples of this finish (Pl. XXVII).

The truth is that what is striking about these towers is not so much their common features as their differences. In some way or ways, great or small, each varies from the other, and of these variations only a few—the presence of corner turrets, which points to a date in the sixteenth century—the character of the corbelling of the parapet, if it is corbelled out—are of significance as to time or locality, and then only in a wide sense. The absence of a parapet, though construction tended that way, is not definitive : quite late towers may have a parapet, and earlier examples none. Meantime it cannot be claimed that even the majority of the more complete of these structures have definitely been allotted to periods of construction. Very many, perhaps all of the earlier ones, have been submitted to later adaptations and alterations. Windows have been enlarged ; the upper works reconstructed : gun-holes may have been inserted. Too many have no datable details or have had such removed. Nor does it necessarily follow, because a tower or castle is mentioned at a certain date as existing at a particular place, that the building now found there is of that time. Fordun in his list of fourteenth century castles includes one at Lochranza, Arran, but the surviving structure at Lochranza is certainly, as a whole, a very much later erection.

With these reservations before us the best that can be done here is to run over a few of the best preserved examples of towers of successive periods. To the fourteenth century but a very tiny group can with any plausibility be attributed, and possibly few of these would on stringent analysis be able to establish a claim to that antiquity. Threave anyhow may be accepted, since Archibald the Grim is recorded to have died there in 1400. It has of course been subjected to later rehandling, but is now a mere shell. It was a residence of the Black Douglases till their forfeiture and its capture or surrender by bribery in 1455; was thereafter a royal possession and part of the jointure of Scottish queens; was held by the Maxwells as hereditary keepers; and suffered siege by the Covenanters in 1639. The walls are 8 feet thick. The lower part was vaulted and divided into a basement with an upper or entresol floor, upon which the entrance opened and in which was the kitchen, a very unusual arrangement: it occurs also at Hallforest, Aberdeenshire. There were two joisted floors above, giving three apartments; in the seventeenth century the roof had slates. For wooden floors there is usually a provision of corbels in the side walls; but in the latest cases support may be provided by an intake of the wall leaving a scarcement or narrow ledge. One peculiar feature of Threave is the triple row of square holes round three sides of the wall heads, some actually worked on the window jambs, while within the four walls about the same level is a passage measuring only 20 inches by 16, which pierces the ingoes of the windows. These details have been explained as being intended for a wooden hoarding to



THREAVE, SHOWING ENTRANCE



BORTHWICK CASTLE, SHOWING WINGS (p. 192)

serve as a machicolated parapet or defence of the early type, but how this could be constructed in the present case, so different from any other example, has never been made clear.

Of towers which may be attributed, mainly from certain features, to the fifteenth century there is a goodly number. Comlongon Castle in Dumfriesshire provides a well-preserved example of a plain tower which on charter evidence can be attributed to this century. It was the residence of the Murrays of Cockpool, ancestors of the Earls of Mansfield, and when the barony of Cockpool was constituted in 1508 the " tower and fortalice of Comlongon " was already in existence. It measures 48 feet 10 inches from east to west and 42 feet 7 inches north and south, while the walls are rather exceptionally massive ; the north wall, having good-sized mural chambers, is 13½ feet thick, the other walls 10 feet. The entrance is on the ground floor, and on the left side begins the spiral staircase, continuing to a cap-house, which at its flat roof is 64½ feet above ground level. The basement is vaulted, and the upper part under the vault was floored, lit, and entered as a separate apartment. Above the hall in Comlongon were two other floors, and the crenelated parapet projected on triply-moulded corbels without machicolations. Late in the sixteenth century the western wall was roofed in as a gallery with a fireplace, while another similar compartment was formed in the same way at the south-east angle.

One familiar device to increase the conveniences of a tower was the provision of chambers in the thickness of the wall, these serving as bedclosets or wardrobes, that is clothes presses. Comlongon we see had such, but the most remarkable example of this provision is Elphinstone, which is honeycombed with mural chambers. Elphinstone, too, provides a case in which a straight stair leads from the entrance to the first floor or hall, where the spiral staircase to the floors above starts from a diagonally opposite corner; while two smaller turnpikes from the first floor, one entered off a window recess, the other off a lobby, give access to the chambers in the walls.

Keeping as far as possible to buildings that can be dated with some confidence, we find one of the early sixteenth century in Rusco Tower, in the parish of Anwoth, Kirkcudbrightshire, once owned by the Gordons of Lochinvar. Over the entrance on the ground floor is a panel bearing arms and the date 1514 in archaic Arabic numerals. It is rather smaller than Comlongon and several feet less in height, while the wall with chambers is 8 feet thick, the others 6 feet. The stair is circular and continuous from the ground, while the cap-house obstructs the parapet walk by occupying one corner: its gabled roof is apparently not original, neither is the present finish of the parapet.

II

With the opening of the sixteenth century, however, we are apprised of a new attitude towards these buildings or that such an attitude has become conscious. The military social tradition has definitely weakened, and the mediaeval mind is being moulded to a new order of ideas. But before following up this divergence, we must take note of another class of tower houses, which has persisted alongside the simple four-square type, that with a wing of similar character, or, as it was called in Scotland, the "tower with a jamb." Braemar Castle was described in 1689 as "a great bodie of a house, a jam and a staircase,"[1] and George, Lord Seton, who fell at Flodden, is said to have "com-

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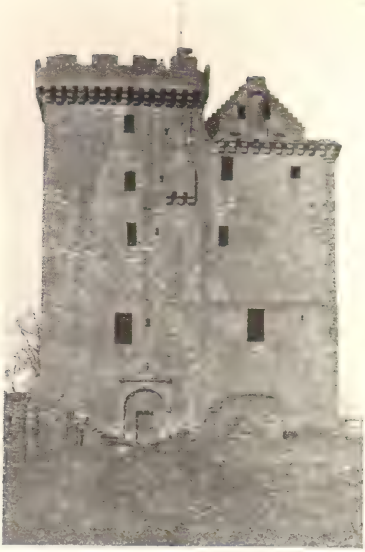
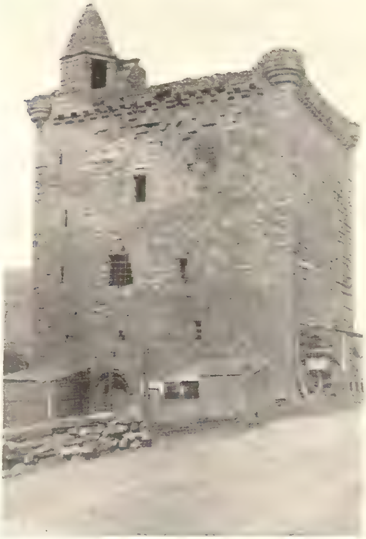
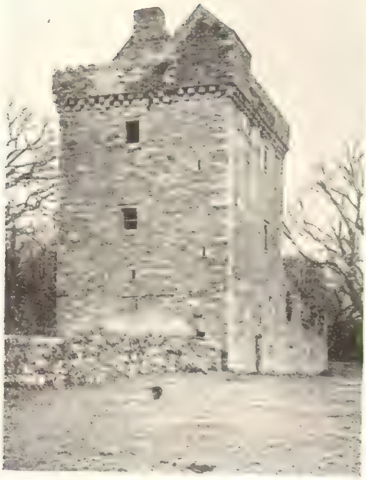
[1] "Mar and Kellie Papers," *Hist. MSS. Comm.*, p. 222.



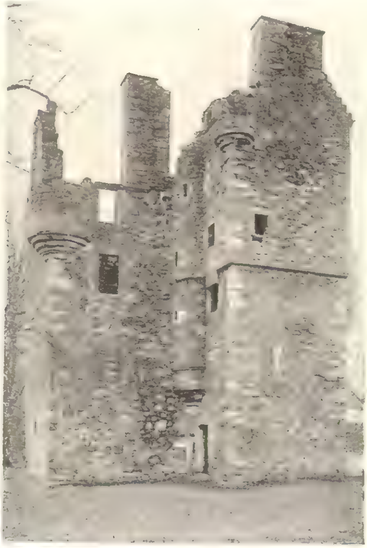
CLACKMANNAN (p. 185)
XIV Century building to right: XV to left



SAUCHIE (p. 185)
Cap-house (p. 129): angle rounds (p. 87)



RUSCO (p. 188)



GREENKNOWE (p. 193)

pleitit the jammay hous of Seytoun." [1] In the accounts for building and repair work in Blackness Castle in 1667 there is a specification to add to the middle tower "a jamb or new turnepyck stair," while another tower also had a jamb utilised in the same way. In the former case the jamb is a circular projection, in the latter square.

It has been found convenient to speak of these towers as built on a plan like the letter L, since the wing or jamb usually projects at right angles to the main block. There are, however, one or two exceptions which are in this respect significant. It has been postulated that in erecting a tower of this shape the idea of a flanking defence along one side played a determining part. But the facts do not lend much support to such an inference. There need be no difficulty in attaching a wing so as to flank one long side at least. Therefore if the flanking idea was so deep-rooted, it should be expected in approximately every case. Yet certain cases go as far as is practicable to negate this advantage. At Whittinghame, East Lothian, and Portincross on the Firth of Clyde, the wing has been placed on a short side of the oblong, so that flanking of the main block is a negligible quantity. The wing of the fifteenth century tower at Dunvegan is also at the gable end and could not flank anything of the slightest importance, particularly as the tower was wholly within the enclosure. At Dunnottar the wing has been run out to the edge of the precipice, while the tiny angular space which it forms with the main wall also slopes to the perpendicular rock face and is accessible only from within. At Borthwick, Midlothian, there are two wings on one side, which from the flanking point of view is sheer waste of opportunity.

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[1] *History of the House of Seytoun*, p. 37.

Further, the danger point of a tower was the entrance. The side, therefore, which contained the door is the one which we should expect to be thus specially guarded.

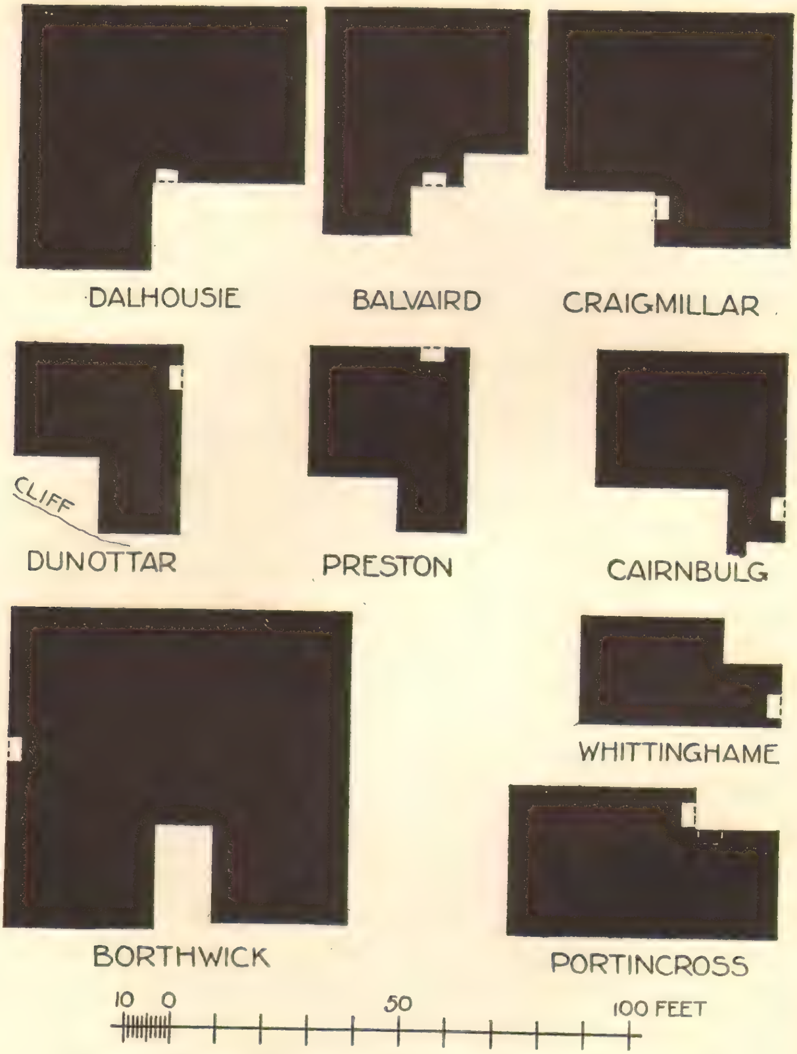

Fig. 17.—Block Plans of Winged Towers (see p. 189)
Position of entrance recessed in white

But as often as not the side containing the door is not the one commanded by the wing (see Fig. 17). In no respect indeed do we find such a uniformity of plan as we are entitled to expect, did a tactical notion like flanking defence influence the minds of the designers. On such a notion various inexplicable anomalies occur: at Portincross, where the projection of the main house could be held to flank the wing, not a single opening occurs in the whole height of this projection. That is not to say that in case of necessity advantage would not be taken of every position as it already existed; and in late buildings, after small firearms had come into use, it is quite ordinary to find a doorway commanded by a gun-hole instead of the old overhead machicolation. It is also true that such an opening was desirable for keeping an eye upon visitors. Yet there are towers like Borthwick and Kilbirnie in which not a single gun-hole appears in any part.

Apart from such considerations these towers with a jamb do not differ from the simple type, save in so far as additional space is provided in the wing. In almost every case this is used for small rooms, among which may be a kitchen. In just a few examples the wing carries a stair or it may be the first flight of a stair, above which are the rooms. The advantage of this accommodation is obvious. Even if the apartments in the main house were sub-divided, still each would normally be entered from another—they would be "through" rooms. In the wing, however, were rooms of convenient size, where the height, too, could be in proportion—so that the wing normally carried more floors than the tower—and each had its own independent access from the stair. Thus was solved one group of problems affecting life in a tower restricted to a few large and more or less common apartments.

Borthwick Castle, however, well deserves fuller consideration. The licence for its building was granted to Sir William Borthwick in 1430, on his acquiring the property with the old name of Lochorquhart; a mote castle having hitherto occupied the site.[1] The building, after a short lapse, is still in occupation, and is in respect of building and design a credit to the craftsmanship of the early fifteenth century. It differs from other structures of the type in having two wings, both on the west face. As a single block it is nearly square, measuring 65 by 57 feet, while the walls are 7, 10, and 14 feet thick according to the demands made upon them for accommodation within their mass. The basement has its own entrance and is vaulted throughout with circular stairs in opposite corners to the first floor, on which is the principal entrance approached originally by a stone bridge from the parapet walk of the enclosing wall, to which again there was a stone stairway from the ground. This first floor was the hall and had a barrel vault rising to a height of 29 feet, where its ceiling was painted with allegorical devices, now on the verge of total disappearance: of "ye tempil of honour" almost nothing remains but the nearly obliterated title. Of the three upper storeys the highest only was vaulted to bear the roof. The wing nearer the entrance had the kitchen on the first floor as already described, and the rooms above the kitchen would be the quarters of the numerous household servants. The wing at the upper end of the hall would thus be the family apartments. Each wing has its stair and there is another stair entered from the screens. Communication is remarkably specialised as between domestic and service parts, and indeed the whole plan is exceptionally able in design and execution. Some additional details have already been referred to as illustrations of general features. Borthwick was the scene of the first overt action by the Scottish nobility against the Earl of Bothwell when staying there with Queen Mary in June, 1566. From it on a June night she slipped out dressed as a page to follow him to Dunbar, and so at Borthwick began the weary pilgrimage that closed under the executioner's axe at Fotheringay. And substantially as Mary saw it, we see it now.

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[1] It is thus described in 1538: "*Terras de lie Moit de Lochquhorat et castrum ejusdem castrum de Borthuik tunc nuncupatum*" (*Reg. Mag. Sig.*, *s.a.*, No. 1826).

Taking a long step forward in time we get a favourable illustration of the possibilities of the tower with a wing in Greenknowe Tower, Berwickshire. The lintel over the door bears the date 1581 and the initials with arms of James Seton. The entrance is in the ground floor of the wing, opening upon the first flight of a wheel-stair with steps 4½ feet in width. But this flight goes only to the first floor: the rooms above in both main block and wing are reached by a narrower stair in a turret carried on corbels within the re-entrant angle. There is no parapet: there are or were three angle turrets; and the gables are crowstepped. The walls average 4 feet in thickness, but that on the north is 7 feet in order to carry the chimney flues. The principal block measures 24 by 15 feet within the walls.

Nine years later than Greenknowe the Castle of Park or, as it was formerly called, Park Hay, was begun by Thomas Hay of Park near Glenluce at the other side of the country. It too is a building with a wing but of plainer aspect, having no parapet, nor even a turret, save a shrinking protuberance in the angle that carries a small stair to the attic. An inscription over the moulded doorway gives us the date of what it calls "this werk"—1590. The main house measures 44½ feet by 26 feet 9 inches. Baltersan, Ayrshire, also with a wing, measures 52 feet by 28 feet within walls of 4 feet thickness. At Park Hay the ground floor is vaulted and the wing contains a wide spiral staircase as far as the third floor. Otherwise nothing of the tower character survives but the height. But Isle Tower does not impress by this quality, still less does Castle Milk of 1547 with at most two floors and an attic. It may be convenient to define a tower as a building of which the height exceeds any other dimension, but we must not apply the definition too strictly. We have seen in the previous chapter how a house classed as a palace might be of great height. The word tower was used much as the middle-class term " villa " is used to-day and with just as elastic a range. Licences to build allow the greatest freedom as to dimensions, leaving these, if mentioned at all, to the judgment of the builder—raising the tower to such height as shall seem expedient to James Dundas or his heirs, as it is expressed in the case of Dundas Tower in 1424, while Lord Forbes in 1509 is allowed to build his castle, tower or fortalice as wide and as high as shall seem to him convenient and best.

Even seventeenth century lawyers, at a time when tower was still a living term, are not more precise.[1] Or rather their line of discrimination takes a different direction from what we should follow. In a lawsuit of 1630 it is pleaded that a certain house is not a tower or fortalice inasmuch as it did not possess either ditch, barmkin, or battleing " but was only an ordinary house." These features and not mere height here serve to differentiate a tower in the special sense. The question was whether the building came within the scope of the Act of 1555 prescribing a forty days

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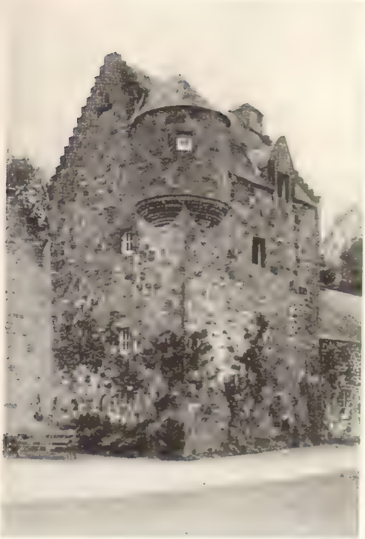
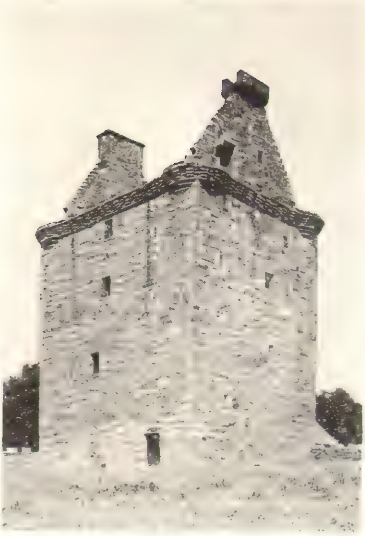
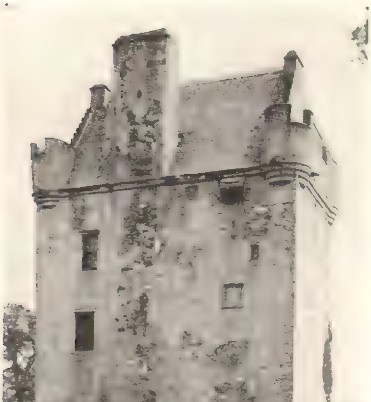
[1] Sir Thomas Craig even specifies " a generous interpretation " (*benignior sententia*) which would classify houses of more than one storey (*quae contignationem haberent*) as fortalices, and cites a lawsuit where this view appears to have been applied (*Jus Feudale*, Lib. II, Dieg. 9, § 18).



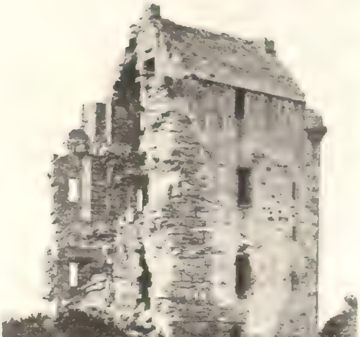
ISLE TOWER (p. 194)



HOLLOWS (p. 200)



CRAIGCAFFIE (p. 203)
On angle rounds see p. 87



CASTLE CRAIG (p. 203)

warning of removal, from which by previous decisions such subjects as fortalices, mills, salt-pans, and coal-pits were excluded. The decision of the court was that the house in question, not being "necessary for labouring the ground" was "a great house" built for the heritor's own use and had therefore to be vacated on a summary notice of six days.[1] It thus ranked with the class of buildings known as fortalices, two other cases being cited in the record as illustrating this judgment, one of which is that of a similar summary ejectment from the tower of Whittinghame. But these are distinctions which, without such a lead, would never have occurred to us.

A later case, however, provides us with a useful subdivision in this class. Fortalices were held to be excluded from the operation of the Act only "when not connected with a farm."[2] This opens up a new relationship of the fortalice, though we have already in passing noted specific examples in which even the great enclosure castle had its farmyard attachments, its stables, byres, granaries, hay-barns and such like. And very many towers were little more than the kernel of a farm-steading, particularly in the cases where the whole lairdship did not exceed the extent of a modern medium-sized or even rather small farm, and was worked by the laird himself and his cottars. In 1554 there is a decision in favour of Barclay of Collairnie against another Barclay, possibly in respect of the still existing tower of Collairnie, Fife, to this effect: "Gif ony man be chargit to deliver any tour, fortalice, or place, he aught and sould deliver the samin, with barnis, byris, stablis and all uther necessare housis pertenand to the samin."[3] It is no doubt this association that accounts for the towers bearing the name of Mains, one at Lockerbie,[1] one in Lanarkshire, another in Stirlingshire, and one in Forfarshire. The "mains" (*terrae dominicales*) was that part of the estate not set to tenants but cultivated for the laird himself.

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[1] Morrison's *Decisions of the Court of Session*, Vol. XXXII, p. 13820, No. 55; Durie's *Decisions*, p. 549.

[2] Morrison's *Decisions*, p. 13859, No. 99.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 13888, No. 126.

It has been necessary to make this diversion in order to realise more adequately the idea of a tower or fortalice in the mind of its contemporaries and the part which it played in the national economy.

III

The Border towers and other erections require a little separate consideration. There were special circumstances in that district, raiding and lifting of cattle, goods, and furnishings, that made the provision of refuges necessary. Raiding was not confined to visitors from over the Border: it was an occupation in which Scots and English were ready to co-operate against their own nationals on either side. Given warning, the folk might resort to the nearest tower, where the cattle could be penned in the barmkin. As conditions were the same on both sides of the Border, an illuminating proposition may be cited from an English account of 1550 as to the building of "a strong towre with stables bynethe and lodginges above, after the fashion of Roclyf my Lord Dacres house upon the west borders, able to contain many men and horses, and in circuyte about it a large barmekyn or fortylage for save garde of cattle." [2] Thus Lord Eure and Sir Brian Layton in August, 1544, "went to a towre of the lord of Bucklughe's called Mosse-House and wonn the barmkyn and gate many naggs and nolt and smoked very sore the towre."[1] This was a service of the barmkyn or enclosing wall special to such districts as the Borders, where we have seen from the Act of 1535 it might exist as an independent structure, as in "Cesford Barkyn."[2]

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[1] *Inventory Anct. Monts. Dumfries*, No. 111.

[2] Cited in *Border Holds of Northumberland* by Cadwallader John Bates, Vol. I, p. 51; also p. 203 in the full survey as printed in Hodgson's *History of Northumberland*, Part III, Vol. II; cf. p. 188.

Apparently a barmkyn might be of wood, since we learn that in 1544 an English raiding party, with the assistance of some Scotsman, "burnt the barmekeyn at the lord of Bucklugh's towre at Branxham"—unless "barmekyn" here means the structures within it. More properly a timbered enclosure would be known as a *peel* or *pele*, the barmkin being a similar enclosure of stone and lime. In 1518 we have a description of "a strong pele of Ill Will Armistranges builded after siche maner that it couth not be brynt ne distroyed unto it was cut down with axes." The nature of this structure has been described on page 33. "Ill Will" was the father of the more notorious Kinmont Willie. In the ballad of Jamie Telfer we read that, when the Bewcastle raiders

> "cam to the fair Dodhead,
> Right hastily they clam the peel;
> They loosed the kye out, ane and a',
> And ranshackled the house right weel."

Here then we have the "peel" as the enclosure and the "house" within, specified in other cases as the peel-house. In 1544 there is a record of the burning by the English of "peel houses, corn and steads in Hodholme . . . and all the peels in Myddleby and Middleby Woods."[3] It may safely be presumed that in these and all similar cases we are informed of substantially built timber erections, in contrast with the peel of Will Armstrong just noted. In a criminal record of 1502 we read of a "House or Pele in Hardene."[1] At Hare Cleugh on the English side there was "a strong pele house of stone," which may suggest that such a house was not of this character normally. Lord Dacre, indeed, in his report of his destructive raid immediately after Flodden, includes among the damaged items "a Pele of lyme and stane," also suggesting a special case. The Scots would probably have called it a barmkin. Later references only add to our complications. In 1567 the Scottish Privy Council was ordering the delivery of "the hous and peill of Westhoussis . . . with the volt and barmkin thereof," and in 1586 we hear from the same quarter of "ane peill house with byre, hall and berne (barn)." This description reminds one of the peel of Gargunnock in *The Wallace:* "Within a dyk (ditch) baith clos, chawmer and hall."

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[1] Cited in Armstrong's *Liddesdale*, Appendix, p. lxvi.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. lxv.

[3] *Letters and Papers, Henry VIII, Foreign and Domestic*, Vol. XIX, part ii, p. 373.

This matter of Border nomenclature is, however, difficult and obscure. In such a district where every man of any substance was supposed to provide a refuge for himself and his tenantry, if any, with cattle and goods, and when every structure of stone, whether residential, agricultural, or even ecclesiastical was a potential place of defence, there was bound to be great variety. Besides these already noted there was the "bastel-house," but nothing material survives to tell us its nature. The term with us seems to be confined to the East and Middle March,[2] and conjecture is open as to what sort of house on the West March corresponded to the bastel of the east.

Nevertheless a habit has grown up of denominating every simple Border tower a "pele-tower." For this usage there is no historical justification, while the implication that it differed significantly from the same type of tower in any other part of the country is erroneous. I cannot indeed track down any contemporary use of the particular term " pele-tower." Caw Mills in Berwickshire, however, was called a " pele " by its English captors in December, 1532, while later it is spoken of as a " tower " and as built of stone.[1] This is an example of the general looseness with which the descriptive names for such buildings were used on the Borders. Apart from that the use of the term pele is not common on the Scottish border, while in Northumberland also it is sparingly used.[2] Its free application to Border towers in general is neither proper nor desirable.

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[1] Pitcairn's *Criminal Trials*, I, *33.

[2] See *Inventory of Ancient Monuments in Berwickshire.*

Pele-house and bastel-house have totally disappeared and of the towers that once existed but a small fraction remains. In Mouswald parish, Dumfriesshire, there were still, at the close of the eighteenth century, the remains of five towers ; now there is but a fragment of one. The parish of Kirkpatrick-Fleming in the same county has now but one ruinous example, yet, at the middle of last century, there were seven others within four miles of it.[3] A few, as in other parts of the country, are in occupation, among these in Dumfriesshire being Bonshaw, a tower of the Irvings, Isle Tower, and Hoddom, an imposing tower with a staircase wing, also of the last quarter of the sixteenth century, which is now incorporated in the modern mansion.

Orchardton, in the Stewartry, is unique among towers of this rank in being circular in shape. Generally the enclosing walls and subsidiary buildings, which accompanied or were added to many of these towers, have disappeared, but Hills Castle, also in the Stewartry, has preserved its gatehouse at least. The tower belonged to a Maxwell in the mid-sixteenth century, but the house attached to it is dated 1721. Hollows or "the Hole-house"[1] was an Armstrong residence in Eskdale near Gilnockie. Its very restricted parapet and ornate corbel-table under a bold cable-moulding point to a date, for these features anyhow, late in the sixteenth century. Its only special characteristic is the claw-like post of observation at the apex of the south gable (Pl. XXVIII) : there is a similar feature at Elshieshields in the same county.

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[1] *State Papers, Henry VIII*, Vol. IV, Part iv, pp. 630, 635, 639.

[2] *Border Holds*, p. 51.

[3] *Inventory of Monuments in Dumfriesshire*, p. lxiv.

Nor must we exaggerate the adequacy of these towers. They were at best but a temporary refuge. Lord Dacre's tactics of 1513 were usually successful enough : " thei layed corne and straw to the dore and burnt it (i.e. the tower) both rofe and flore, and so smoked theym owt." Therefore it was no more usual to have a Border laird holding out in his tower to the end than it was in the case of the great nobles in their castles (cf. p. 83). Sir Walter Scott noted this : "I have not observed a single case of a distinguished baron made prisoner in his own house," with the exception of Dand Ker captured in Ferniehirst in 1523.[2] The Armstrongs, when seriously threatened by a warden, abandoned their towers and betook themselves to the almost impenetrable bog and scrub of the high-lying moors by the Tarras Water.[3]

On Trailtrow hill, however, which overlooks Hoddom Castle, there is a unique case of a small tower specially devoted to the purpose of keeping watch on the lower valley of the Annan. On the door lintel appears in raised Gothic lettering the word REPENTENCE, whence it is known as Repentance Tower, but no quite satisfactory explanation of this sentiment in this position has been put forward. But "the wache toure upon Trailtrow, callit Repentance" certainly existed before its description in these terms in 1579; while we learn from the Border Laws that it was fitted with a beacon and a bell, that in war time "the Beaken in the Fire-pan be keeped, and never faill burning, so long as the Englishmen remain in Scotland," and the bell rung "whenever the Fray is, or that the Watchman seiing the Thieves disobedient come over the Water of Annand or thereabout, and knowes them to be enemies; and whosoever bydes fra the Fray, or turns again so long as the Beaken burns, or the Bell rings, shall be holden as Partakers to the enemies and used as Traitors."

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[1] Hollows or " Hoill-house " occurs as a name in other districts.

[2] Introduction to *Border Minstrelsy*, ed. 1902 (Henderson), Vol. I, p. 128.

[3] *Memoirs of the Life of Robert Carey* (ed. 1759), p. 159.

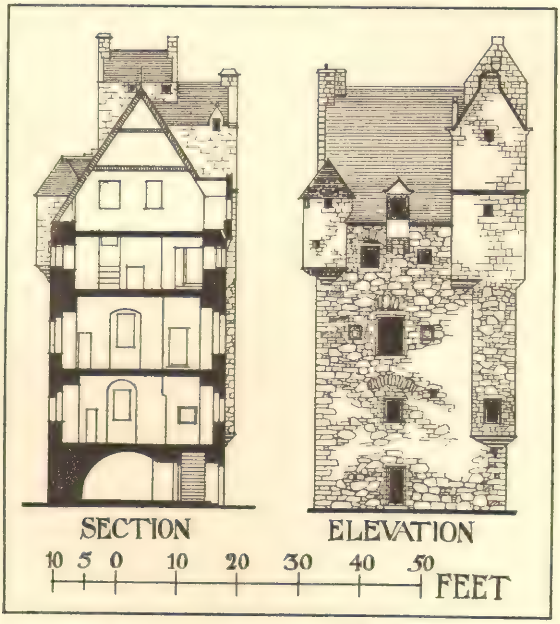


FIG. 18.—AMISFIELD TOWER
Front elevation and cross-section

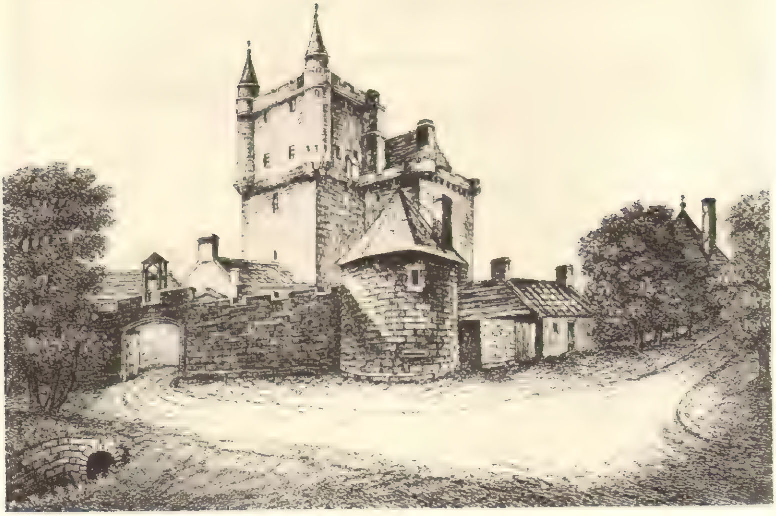
The most picturesque of the Border towers is that of Amisfield, five miles north of Dumfries. Heraldic panels on its principal face give us the date 1600 and the initials of Sir John Charteris, of a family settled here since the close of the twelfth century, and Anne Maxwell, daughter of Lord Herries. It starts as a square tower of the ordinary plain type but above the third floor breaks out in turrets, round and rectangular, with a cap-house above the steeply sloped roof, rising to a height of 77 feet. There is no parapet. The ornamental finishings are a mixture of revived Gothic and Renaissance details. Small gunloops in the vaulted basement and a single machicolation at the sill of the dormer window above the door on the ground floor constitute the defensive features. There was the usual barmkin with gateway, now gone, within which, against the wall opposite the tower, was erected in 1631 a two-storeyed house of ordinary type.

IV

It will have been evident that in the course of the sixteenth century a new type of tower had come into existence. There is an increasing adaptation of turrets to the upper floors in order to provide additional rooms. This involved encroachment upon the parapet, which had been the position of active defence. When the English in 1402 besieged the tower of Cocklaws in Teviotdale, they poured such a hail of missiles upon the place that the defenders, we are told, could not show themselves above the tower head (*extra summitatem turris*). But by the time we have now reached, the parapet could be dispensed with. We have already noticed how in part it was roofed over at a later date on Comlongon Tower. By choosing our examples the gradual disappearance of this once essential feature of a "tour of fens" can be exhibited in successive stages. Smailholm Tower in Roxburghshire, "standing stark and upright as a warder," which came from the Pringles to the Scotts of Harden, shows a parapet flush with the walls but only on the longer sides, partial too on one side and blocked on the other. At Kirkhope Tower, Selkirkshire, another house of the Scotts of Harden, the parapet, of slight projection, is on two adjacent sides only and even so is encroached upon by superstructures at the terminating angles. Craigcaffie Tower in Wigtownshire was the house of an ancient family of Neilsons and is imperfectly dated on a skew-put as of 157–: here the parapet is confined to the shorter sides. So too at Castle Craig, on the upper reach of the Cromarty Firth. At Coxton Tower we saw the last morsel of parapet clinging to a single corner. But as the parapet had wholly disappeared at Amisfield in 1600, and in other contemporary examples, while a complete old-fashioned parapet is nevertheless a feature of Scotstarvit in 1627, we see that this test is of no chronological value and merely records a variety of taste, though at the same time witnessing to the fact that it is now but a matter of taste and no more an inevitable equipment. It may be as well also to dismiss the idea that a parapet had any structural or necessary relation to a vaulted roof. Scotstarvit has a parapet with a timbered roof; Castlecraig has a vaulted roof but a parapet survival only at each gable. To the vaulted roof of Coxton Tower there clings but an appendage of parapet.

The turret corbelled out at an angle may be treated as a case of the open round which has been roofed over and furnished with windows. Such a development is clearly suggested in the position and character of those at Spedlins. An elementary example is furnished by Isle Tower, about five miles north-west of Dumfries, built for John Ferguson in 1587. It is a bluff little house without parapet but with a corner turret at two diagonal corners and having its iron gate still in place. Another simple case in the same district, with a turret at each of two diagonal angles, is Fourmerkland Tower, a Maxwell house built three years later and in occupation down to thirty years ago. We have already seen how these "rounds" may be so called even when rectangular. Of this variation Oakwood Tower, Selkirkshire, probably of the early seventeenth century, is a characteristic example, but we have seen rectangular as well as circular turrets at Amisfield, where the turrets too contain more than one floor. Another interesting and striking example of both forms in conjunction is found at Castle Stewart, a few miles east of Inverness, which is dated 1625 (Pl. XXX).

This pushing out to the square may, for one thing, be another form of effort towards securing more space. At the same time it also simplified the problem of roofing, which may well have been the end mainly desired. We follow the same ideas in the cases where a circular turret rising from the ground is corbelled out rectangularly above or, as in "Waterton's Lodging" (see Fig. 15) at Dunnottar, is intaken to the same effect. The earliest step towards such a construction would seem to be at Esslemont, Aberdeenshire, built about the beginning of the sixteenth century, but as a rule examples are of the latter half of the same century, and those that can with any confidence be dated are late in that period. The most emphatic treatment of the towers in this style appears at Claypotts, near Broughty Ferry, a house built for the Strachans of Claypotts, probably in two stages between 1569 and 1588, which dates are on skews of the south and north towers respectively. Later it was owned and occupied by John Graham of Claverhouse.



HODDOM (p. 199)
From an Engraving by Clerk of Eldin (1773-79)

CLAYPOTTS

Claypotts further represents a class of building plans of which one must take account. It is usual to classify among towers such oblong buildings having two wings, and when these are placed diagonally to describe them as of an Z plan. These wings may be both round or both square, or there may be one of each shape, and either or both may contain the broad lower flight of a stair. It is claimed that the diagonally opposite towers were so placed to enable all four walls to be flanked with firearms from gun-holes. Further that after this necessity disappeared " the Z plan was gradually abandoned, and other forms of a more domestic type took its place. The chief of these was the T plan." [1] In the T plan there is a single round tower at or about the middle of one side.

But it must be observed that this abstract sequence of plans does not occur chronologically. The examples of Z and T plans are contemporaneous: they are found in company over the same period of time. For that matter so do the few examples in which the towers are both on the same long side, giving what has been described as the E plan.

It is rather remarkable, too, that of the fifty-one definite examples allotted to the Z plan, all except seven occur beyond the Forth, for most in the north-eastern shires. Of nine E plans four are north of the Forth, as are seven of the twenty T plans. These figures are drawn from the classification in question. On the face of it they seem extraordinarily lopsided, with no obvious justification. It is a distribution, however, which suggests a preference for type of building according to district. This is even more marked in the case of late corbelling. South of the Forth it is simply continuous—a sort of cornice—as at Craigcaffie or

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[1] MacGibbon and Ross, Vol. III, p. 366.

Baltersan, and there is but an isolated example of the key-pattern continuous corbelling so frequent in the north-east.

As examples of Z plans we get Claypotts and Earlshall, Fifeshire; of E plans Baberton in Midlothian; and of the T plan Luffness House in East Lothian, as it was of old. Fenton Tower in East Lothian might have served as an example of an Z plan, were it not that it projects on the east beyond what should have been the diagonal round tower but is only a tower on one side, while without this tower it could have been relegated to the L plan. In fact the classification is purely external and in a sense accidental. Killochan has been relegated to the L list, while Earlshall figures among the Z plans. Yet essentially they are the same type of building, with a merely superficial difference in the position of one tower. And in other cases "modifications" have to be postulated in order to bring them within one or other of these categories.

One consideration which motived the disposition of these wings seems to have been the desirability of not interfering with the lighting of the main block. With glazing now fairly prevalent brighter interiors could be indulged in and were desired on their merits. At Pitcullo Castle in Fife, when a later second tower was added on the same side as the earlier one, it was carried out from the corner so as not to mask the lights. There was already a turnpike tower on the opposite flank, so that Pitcullo combines the so-called E and T plans as Fenton in East Lothian does the L and T. The same treatment was given to the later of the two wings at Dundas Castle, Linlithgowshire, which projects awkwardly at one corner, in such a way as to utilise the already existing turnpike without blocking a window opening on either side. Best of all, to leave lighting quite free, was the method of giving each tower to a separate side, and, if possible, projecting it at an angle from the corner, that is adopting the so-called Z plan.

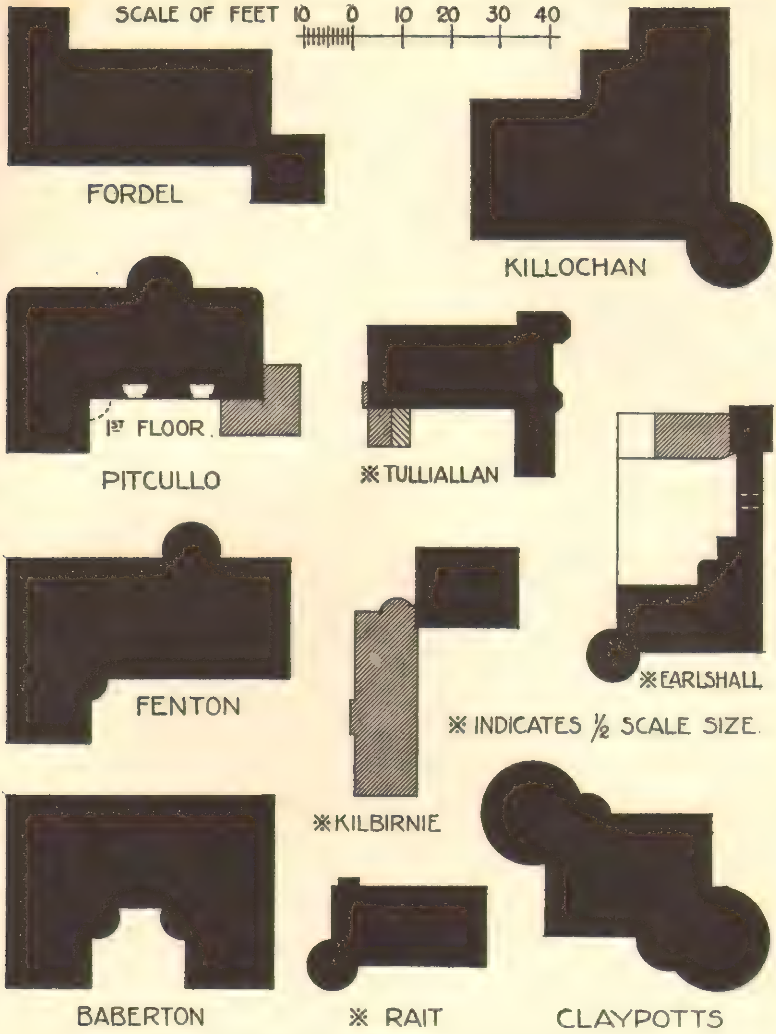

FIG. 19.—PALACE PLANS (2), cf. FIG. 11.

As for the alleged T plan, it scarcely deserves a place. It means no more than that a stair turret has been projected on one side of an oblong house. A turret of this sort, where it occurs in this position on the ruined east wing of Falkland Palace, is described as a "cross-house." The intrusion of such a turret may also, as we have just observed, infringe upon the purity of other alphabetical figures. It is in fact merely a constructional detail, carrying no special significance (cf. p. 242).

But it is not necessary to enter into these subtleties. The truth is that in all these cases we are dealing fundamentally with one plan, not, as it is held, based upon the tower as such but upon the oblong hall. They are constructions of the type analysed in the previous chapter. Essentially they are the sort of thing contemplated in the charter of Oakwood (" Aikwood ") Selkirkshire, dated 1541. As part of the reddendo of these lands Michael Scott was to erect a "fair mansion with a tower and other policies."[1] The existing Oakwood does not answer to this specification, but what we have to do with is the manner of building proposed. It is that common to all the classes we have just been considering ; what we see again at Kilbirnie, Ayrshire, a house of the Earls of Crawford. Here the long block is an addition to the earlier tower, and so it has been in other examples. A description of what happened in the case of the house of Cambusnethan illustrates this development. Sir John of Cathkin (" Quathquan ") found on the site in 1491 only a large square tower four storeys high, called from its former owners Baird's Tower. To this tower Sir John "built a great house, ane hundered foot and upward of length, and threttieth of breadth within the walles, all excellent aisler (ashlar) work both within an without, standing upon fyve spatious vaults, being

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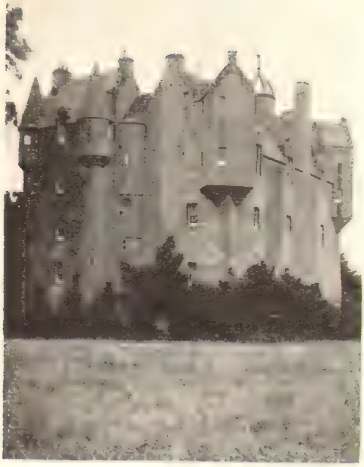
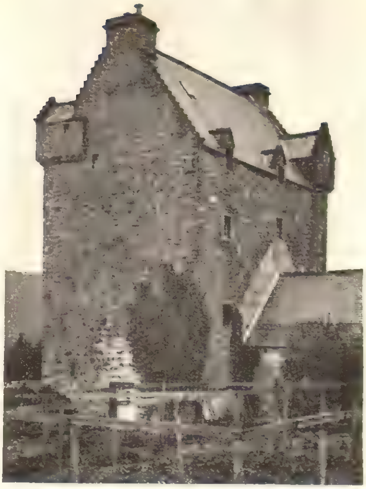
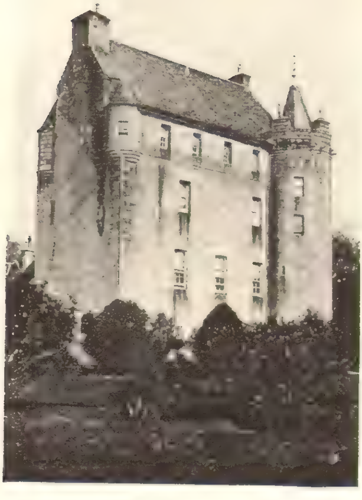
[1] *Honestam mansionem cum turre et aliis politiis* (*R.M.S.*).



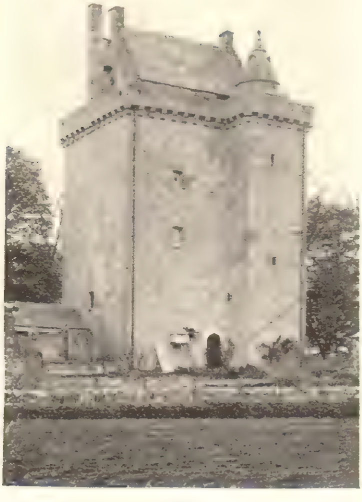
CASTLE STEWART (p. 204)



OAKWOOD (p. 204)



KILLOCHAN (p. 209)



SCOTSTARVIT (p. 211)

only three storie high, with a large turnepyke betwext the old tower and the bodie of this house which serves both." [1]

Similarly, whether we have one or two towers, of the same shape or different shapes, one on each long side or both on one side, is not essentially material. The determining fact is that these plans are not tower plans but of the mansion, great-house, or palace type—the last description being unfortunately overshadowed by the great quadrangular palaces. They have been raised under the influence of this idea, so that the old simple description of tower or fortalice no longer suffices. Fordell, Fife (Fig. 19), is specified at its building in 1567 as "ane howse of ane gret quantite." [2] Oakwood, we have seen, was to be designed as a mansion *with* a tower. Earlshall has still its painted gallery, and a gallery is a sure sign of the origin of the plan. Only thus can a place like Elcho Castle, Perthshire, be accounted for, which with its casual looking equipment of towers of different shapes and sizes, fits into no regular scheme. Nobody in his senses would produce such a plan for military purposes. Yet palace plans did not dispense with defensive features. The "palace-wise" mansion at Banff, spoken of in the previous chapter, had its share of these.

In some of the late examples a wide scale and platt stair, that is one of straight steps and landings, is found, either as part of the original plan or introduced between the old and new work. Killochan Castle, within a few miles of Girvan, provides an early example of this type of stair. It was built for John Cathcart of Carlton in 1586, according to the inscription over the door, and is still occupied by a Cathcart. A round tower occupies the south-east corner of the house, while at the corresponding corner on the north is a stepped wing containing in the outer portion the main stair of the new type as far as the first floor and a large newel stair in the inner wing over the porch entrance. A small newel stair in the angle of the round tower and the east wall serves this tower. At Kilravock Castle, Nairnshire, a square tower has been inserted between the older " mekle tour," as it is styled in a contract for the making of its " yrin yett " in 1568, and the later building of the type discussed above, in order to carry a similar scale and platt stair serving both parts.[1] It was a compact and ingenious bit of planning.

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[1] *Memorie of the Somervilles* (1679), I, p. 302.

[2] *Laing Charters*, No. 825.

Despite innovations, however, the tower type of house held its own to the end. The Scottish laird could not forget its traditional associations. If a residence of this kind already existed he might, as we have seen, adapt it to newer buildings such as his improving circumstances or more refined conditions might demand. He might elaborate it even within its own limits. Thus the two topmost floors of Spedlins Tower, Dumfriesshire, are a late reconstruction having external walls 4 feet thick above older walls of 10 feet. A corridor runs between sets of two rooms on either side at both levels, and these rooms are independently entered. Each room, too, has its own fireplace and garderobe, and there are twin roofs with a valley over the corridor. Below the window at the junction of the two gables on the north side is a slab bearing Jardine and Johnstone arms and the date 1605. Drochel Tower, Peeblesshire, of the last quarter of the sixteenth century is constructed throughout on this plan of a central corridor on each floor, off which the rooms opened.

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[1] Cf. above on Cambusnethan, p. 209. An explanation on different lines is this: " Other shotholes from the staircase flank the keep, explaining the object of the builder in planning the stair tower as he has done " (MacGibbon and Ross, Vol. I, pp. 385-6).

Another mode of dealing with the structural problems was adapted in the single example of Cardoness Tower, Kirkcudbrightshire, which is of the second half of the fifteenth century. The floor above the hall is divided by a stone and lime partition, which is carried on an arch spanning the breadth of the tower. A short lobby, reached by a flight of steps from the main stair, allows each of the two rooms to be entered independently; this device again doing away with the trouble of through rooms. The treatment of this upper floor as a whole discloses how the problem already noticed might have been solved, but the experiment was not repeated.

One of the most striking illustrations of how a Scottish laird could proudly cling to his ancestral tower is provided by that at Preston, Midlothian. In the first quarter of the seventeenth century Sir John Hamilton adapted his dwelling to the newer requirements by building a two-storeyed house with dormer windows right on the tower itself, above the parapet walk. And even so late as this we can still meet with towers of the simplest type, such as Scotstarvit with a staircase wing in 1627 and Coxton Tower, dated 1641, which was still occupied a generation ago and, so far as condition goes, might be now. Coxton has its outside stair,[1] its iron gate, and its stair to the upper rooms at the opposite corner of the first floor, a winding stair wholly within a 5-foot wall. As already stated it is barrel-vaulted on each floor, but the vault forming the roof is high and pointed. The roof is covered with stone slabs not overlapping. The vaults run at right angles to each other on the different floors, and a small aperture was left in the crown of each (cf. p. 56). There is a cable-moulding at the wall head.

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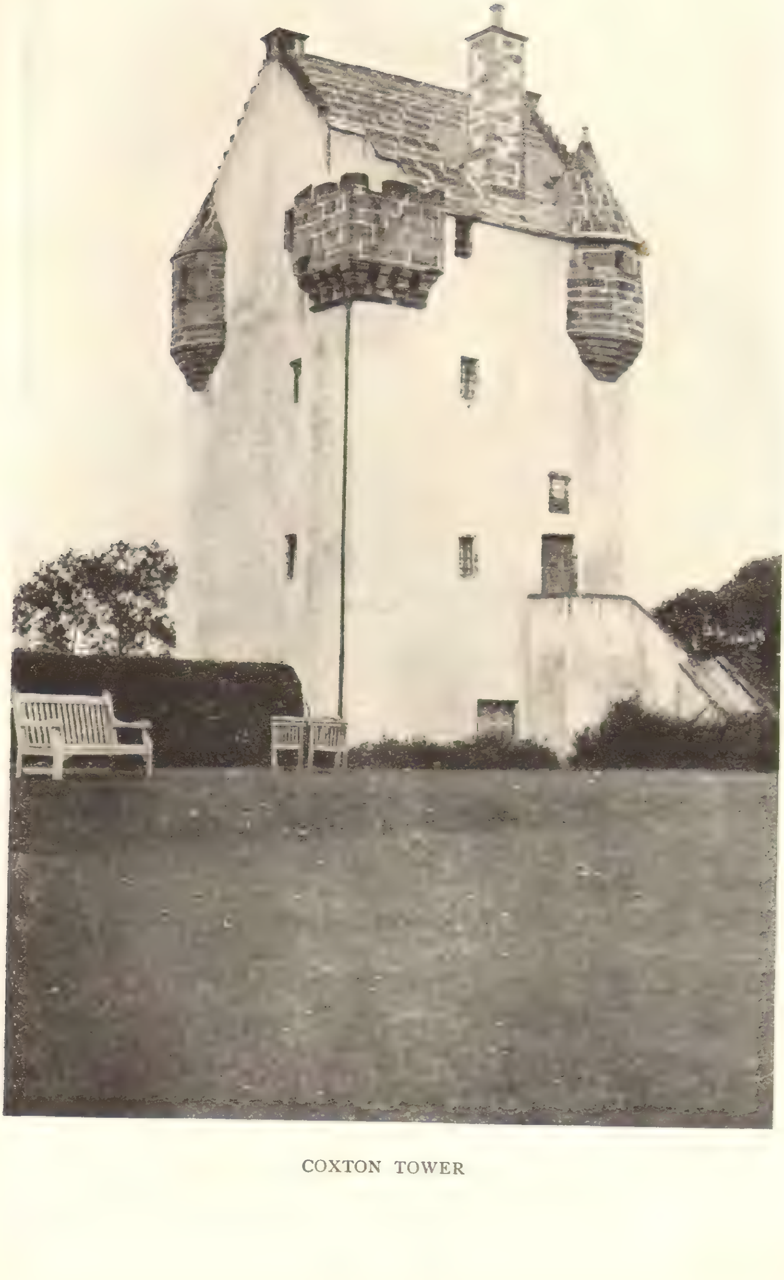
[1] But Billings (*Baronial Antiquities*, 1845-53) says: "An external stone stair has recently been erected." There must, however, have been some earlier access to the front door, and the foundation courses of the present reconstruction seem to be older. Billings, for no reasons assigned, thought the tower was about a hundred years earlier than the date. He gives the final figure of the date as 4 and this has been accepted by later writers. But a rubbing made in 1899 clearly shows this figure as 1.

Over the main door is a panel with arms and initials, the lintel of which bears the date 1641, the final figure being now wasted away. But in 1618, when the lands were erected into a barony for John Innes, the fortalice and manor of Coxton was ordained to be the principal messuage, and it can be inferred that a building then existed on the site. To this building the panel refers, as is indicated by the arms and initials, which are those of Alexander Innes who died in 1612 and his two wives. The dated lintel is of the time of Sir Alexander Innes of Coxton, whose arms again, impaled *per fess* with those of his second wife, appear on the shield above the window on the first floor. This marriage was subsequent to 1647. It is not necessary here to enter into further details. The tower fairly represents a structure of about the time indicated.

We have now concluded our rather summary survey of castle building in Scotland. It has covered a space of 500 years and so carried us rather beyond the strictly mediaeval period. We have seen these buildings originate as the homes of a warlike aristocracy and display that character in a greater or less degree to the end—in the later stages as little more than adornment. The story of this development is necessarily part of the general course of the national history and makes a contribution to that history, the full significance of which it would be well to interpret more closely than is done. Unluckily the modern observer ensconced



COXTON TOWER

behind a professional army, navy, and police force and a highly organised legal and administrative system, looks on these warlike survivals with a prejudiced eye. Like the seer in the Odyssey he sees their walls dripping with blood. Something has been done here to correct that exaggerated vision, and something, it is hoped, to build up a more reasonable conception of what the castle really stood for in the political and social life of its time.

APPENDIX A

ON LICENCES TO BUILD A TOWER OR FORTALICE

WHAT is the significance of licences to build a tower or fortalice as high as may be thought proper, on such a place as may be found convenient, and to equip it with the various forms of defences or *propugnacula?* The answer that at once suggests itself, and has been tacitly accepted, is that they testify to the right or power of the King to exercise control over the erection of such places, either as being contributions to the defence of the kingdom or as possible menaces to its peace. The question, however, deserves fuller consideration than it has hitherto received.

At the outset we need not allow ourselves to be overawed by the fact of a special licence. It was but a legal form, which we find in practice might relate to various kinds of operations: licences were issued to alienate parts of one's lands in heritage, to build forestairs to houses in a burgh or make cellars under the street, as well as for other more imposing purposes, all of which can be accounted for as dealing with matters *inter regalia* or attached to the royal prerogative. Our present enquiry is whether the building of a tower or fortalice is in the same category.

Sir George Mackenzie supplies us with the most precise answer in the affirmative: "There was no Fort nor Strength, or *turris pinnata* called Tower-houses, allow'd to be build in Scotland, without an express Warrand under the Kings own hand, this being one of the effects of his Prerogative, in the sole disposing, and making of Peace and War." [1] He cites an opinion by Sir Thomas Craig to the effect that "by English law all towers, because they are presumed to have been erected only for the defence or strengthening of the kingdom, pertain to the King, as does the defence of the kingdom. Whoever claims that the same is the case by our (i.e. Scottish) law will not in my judgment be wrong, since anyone who denies his tower or fortalice to the King incurs the charge of treason, in a greater degree than if he refuses horse or buildings or anything else. No probable reason can be given for this except that this denial seems to deprive the King and lord of his legal lordship and is a kind of purpresture,[1] while all other things we may refuse at the King's demand without risk of rebellion." [2] Mackenzie then points out that this " agrees with the opinion of forraign Lawyers who treat of the power of Kings in general," adding that " the prerogative should not be made use of, except in cases of extream necessity, and even then the Heretor is to be repaid, if he must hire another House."

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[1] *Observations on the Acts of Parliament* (1686), p. 86.

Craig's language, however, does not warrant the positive pronouncement of the later commentator. It is no more than an *obiter dictum* (" *ut opinor* ") based on general considerations. Elsewhere, too, Craig is even more guarded : " By the ancient law of feus and today among the English all towers with turrets (*fastigiatae turres*) pertain to the King : I am not certain that this must hold good with us." [3]

It will be noticed that in all this there is no citation of anything Scottish either in fact or law. Mackenzie stands upon Craig and " foreign lawyers ; " Craig upon English law and feudal law in general. Of Craig a modern legal antiquary remarks that he " wrote less as a Scotch lawyer, than as a learned student of the civil and canon and feudal law. He quotes cases that happened in his own day and a little before, in Scotland, but he had no care to distinguish the history of our law from that of any other feudal nation " [4] The truth is, as Innes points out, that there were not then available, nor for a long time after, materials for a study of " the origin and progress of our peculiar law " (p. 6).

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[1] Encroachment upon a superior's proprietorial rights incurring forfeiture.

[2] *Jure anglorum turres omnes, quia ad defensionem seu munitionem, regni extructae tantum praesumuntur ad regem pertinent, ad quem et regni defensio ; quod si idem et jure nostro observari quis dicat, non, ut opinor, aberrabit, cur enim qui turrim sive fortalitium suum regi denegat, crimen laesae Majestatis incurrit, magis quam si equum, aut aedes, aut aliam rem, nulla alia ratio probabilis reddi protest, nisi quod negatio haec ex jure feudali, regem et dominum videtur privare jure sui dominii, et species quaedam purpresturae est, et alias nostras principi poscenti possumus negare sine perduellionis periculo*—*Jus Feudale* (1600), Lib. II, Dieg. 8, § 3.

[3] *Nescio an et apud nos locum habere debeat*, Lib. I, Dieg. 12, § 16.

[4] Cosmo Innes, *Lectures on Scotch Legal Antiquities*, pp. 2-3.

Though no better equipped in this respect, Viscount Stair contests the judgment of his predecessor. " Fortalices," he writes, " are also *inter regalia*, and are not carried by the fee, unless expressed, or at least the lands be erected in a barony." " By Fortalices are understood, all strengths built for publick defence." In this class are included " all the King's castles, whereof many are now in private hands, as proprietars, or heritable keepers thereof, or constables of the same. . . . The case is more doubtful as to other fortalices, which are not reputed to have been the King's castles " but " castles with bartizens or bands, that is, strong and high walls surrounding the castle : or if the castle be built upon a place naturally strong, . . . certainly such fortresses or fortifications, whereby places are made of that strength, which is accustomed to secure against publick enemies in war, may not be built without the King's Warrant . . . but long possession presumes a warrant." Follows a serious qualification : " And as such fortalices may be presumed to have been at first the King's, from the very inspection of the fortalice, and its proper use ; so long possession may take off that presumption, and that they have been built mainly for private use in times of trouble, with the King's consent." Further, however, he will not go with Craig : " I see no ground to extend fortalices " (that is, in the sense defined at the start) " to all houses, with battlements, or with turrets, or rounds[1] which can only infer private safety against robbers, plunderers or flying parties, but nothing proper for a siege, or publick defence of a Kingdom : and therefore may pass as houses or pertinents." Craig had offered as argument " That it is treason to hold any fortalice against the King, or to deny him, or those commissioned by him, access, by armed force ; and yet delivery of any other private right may be refused to the King without hazard ; whence he inferreth, that the King must have greater right and interest in all such fortalices than in other things." On this Stair comments : " This consequence is not good ; for that which infers treason, is the holding out of the house, and denying access to the King by armed force, which will be treasonable in any house, whether it have battlements or turrets or not ; but cannot infer that all houses with battlements or turrets, were built for publick defence, and did once belong to the King ; which recent custom doth further clear, there being nothing more ordinary, than to build houses with turrets or rounds upon the angles, without

[1] On Rounds see p. 101.

warrant, quarrel, or suspicion; these being rather for ornament than for strength."[1]

The question then is not quite so simple as it appeared. Craig's opinion is based upon an inference which Stair repels. At the same time that opinion is guardedly expressed. Stair's own pronouncement as to the greater fortalices is a makeshift, necessitating a presumption which is to be taken off by another presumption before he can reach tenable ground. And none of these writers takes account of any actual licence or its circumstances, or even refers to such, not having apparently knowledge of these documents.

It is strange that in a matter of so much importance there should be any dubiety. Nor are the terms of the actual licences as illuminating as we might expect. Moreover, the general principle lying behind the building of fortalices in Scotland must be kept in view. It has been illustrated and commented upon at the opening of Chapter V. There we have seen the construction and occupation of such places treated as an addition to the "policy" or administrative or social amenity of the kingdom. There was neither act nor action in Scotland in restraint of the building of fortalices as such. But we do get cases of encouragement in that direction.

What are believed so far to be all the examples of licences to build in existence are subjoined. They are surprisingly few, the list holding, as there set out, but seventeen items at most, apart from burghal licences. In the case of the tower of Urquhart, however, the addition of a tower to an already and long existing castle is included as part of the *reddendo* or stipulated rental or return. Other analogous cases of this sort are not included. The grant of the island of Little Cumbrae in 1527 is similarly conditioned; Robert Hunter of Hunterstown "building and keeping up a sufficient mansion house on said lands, etc."[2] Oakwood (p. 208) also has its building as part of the *reddendo*. All these then, including the tower at Urquhart, are in the nature of "improving leases," as was also the grant in 1509 of the castle of Inverness to the Earl of Huntly (cf. p. 113), his *reddendo* including the building not only of a hall and chapel but also of defences (*propugnacula*) near the mount of the castle.

This grant to the Earl of Huntly was a familiar way in Scotland of getting rid of the expense of the upkeep of a royal castle.

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[1] *Institutions of the Law of Scotland* (1681), Bk. II, Tit. III, §§ lxv, lxvi.

[2] *Hist. MSS. Comm.* Eglinton MSS., p. 24.

Cromarty was a more drastic case. The mote-hill, formerly a royal castle, was gifted to the hereditary sheriffs with the special faculty of erecting a tower upon it. As royal castles Inverness and Cromarty were of course *inter regalia* from the outset. The earliest licence proper on the list is that for Dunnottar in 1346. But there is no evidence that the Earl of Sutherland ever built anything upon the rock. Fifty years later a tower did exist there, but this had just been erected by Sir William Keith, and no licence to him exists. The only question of his right to build came from the Bishop of Aberdeen, who held that the place was an ecclesiastical site.

Another group which is on a special footing is that including Inchgarvie, Largo, and Werdiehow. These licences are surely the reverse of concessions drawn from a watchful King. They rather point to acts of public policy on the part of private persons in the provision of refuges from pirates and invaders within the exposed area of the Firth of Forth. The builders of these were doing a public service in the usual feudal manner. The grant of Inchgarvie to be built upon is made with the concurrence of Parliament and Council and is therefore enrolled in the Acts of Parliament as well as the Register of Great Seal; and the Largo ratification and licence likewise appear in the Acts. In the Largo case the licence to build is issued after the fortalice in question had actually been erected, but this is not even hinted to have been an illegal or improper action. Werdiehow, too, though specified as a "private defence," really falls within the category of public service on feudal lines. In other words, we are here again in touch with places which are an "increase of policy."

Two cases are specially significant. Cawdor carried with it the rights and privileges pertaining to a castle such as were customary in Scotland; and Ravenscraig all privileges, easements, and profits which were then attached to any castle or might attach in future. The latter is also a licence issued with the approval of the Council. The privileges specified in these cases remind us that much more was in question in the case of a castle than its military equipment. It is not merely a matter of a fortalice in the purely military sense.

The Kilravock licence is a solitary example of its kind, inasmuch as it was issued not by the King but by a subject superior, namely, the Earl of Ross, who in 1460 empowered "Huchone de Ross, baron of Kylravok," in the usual style, to erect a "toure of fens, with barmkin and bataling, upon quhat place of strynth him best likis, within the barony of Kilravok."[1] It may be urged, as the feudal writers cited above hold, that the grant of a barony implicitly carried the right to erect a fortalice as one of the *signa jurisdictionis* or to erect fortalices generally. John Earl of Ross then, in issuing this licence, was simply exercising his baronial right within a portion of his earldom. That may be; but when Saddell was erected into a barony the right of erecting fortalices was nevertheless expressly conveyed; and Kilravock itself too was a barony. But these may be superfluous provisions *ob majorem cautelam*, that is, in order to leave no opening for question. For the same reason any grant of a barony ordinarily runs *cum castro, turre et fortalicio*. It is indicated in the text (p. 78) how litigious the Scottish nobility had become by the close of the fifteenth century, the period during which the greater number of licences were issued.

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[1] *Family of Kilravock*, Spalding Club, p. 135.

It is not quite obvious what conclusion is to be drawn from a consideration of these licences. If Sir George Mackenzie's proposition holds good, that no fortalice down to a tower could be erected without a royal warrant, then we should expect to find a fair proportion of such warrants still in existence among the thousands of documents relating to lands in Scotland. We see just how many there are. Even without the discriminations and qualifications expressed above, it is not an impressive, nor indeed a satisfactory number, and serves only to illuminate Sir Thomas Craig's doubts. Nor does the general Scottish view of fortalices point to that conclusion. Further, in the licence to the Thane of Cawdor we have the express provision that the King and his successors should have free access to the castle as often as they pleased; and the same condition is attached to the retour (1617) relating to Castle Camus (Knock) in Skye. Were the relation of the King to a fortalice that usually assumed, such a provision should surely be unnecessary. Craig in terms of his own argument would hold that it was.

Finally there is a special instruction of 1528 by the King and Council to the effect that if any man intended to do any building upon the Borders near to England or to erect any strength or fortalice there, he was forthwith to desist, and, if he had built anything, to destroy it, until the King and his Council should consider whether such building was likely to cause trouble between the two countries.[1] This edict applied to all building whatsoever but was superfluous in respect of fortalices, did such require in the first instance a special royal permit for their erection. In that case the permit could be refused, withdrawn, or cancelled without further ado. Clearly places of this sort could be raised without even the cognisance of the central authority, far less its permission; the edict ingenuously runs "if any man intended . . . to erect any strength or fortalice there."

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[1] Cited in Balfour's *Practicks*, p. 595.

The English cases are in quite a different category. In that country there was a definite legal enactment that no houses should be fortified without licence from the King or in border counties from the Lords Marcher.[1] Consequently the number of licences on record is very great. In a dozen years there are as many as in Scotland over two centuries. One of 1482 is significant in its bearing on the Largo case. It refers to the manor of Oxburgh, Norfolk, and there is a clause remitting transgression and misprision committed by the grantee "before these times . . . on account of his inclosing such walls and towers, embattled, kernellated, machecollated, and built as aforesaid etc."[2] Sir Andrew Wood had built before licence, but it was not thought necessary to clear him of any offence. The conclusion would seem to be that no offence in this sense had been committed. At the same time it must be noted that the form and phraseology of the Scottish licences are similar to those of England, though the particular phrases may well be common legal form and not imply a common significance.

Besides its military aspect, however, there was another characteristic of a fortalice which deserves consideration in this connection. It had a special legal standing in virtue not of its construction but of its use. A fortalice did not go with a grant of lands unless expressed. It was not among the "pertinents." Buildings needful for the proper working of the land were included as a matter of course; they were pertinents; but not so a fortalice or building which could serve only as a residence. We have seen the discrimination made in the case expounded in Chapter VI. Towers and fortalices, Craig points out, were related to jurisdiction rather than cultivation;[3] they were *signa jurisdictionis*.[4] They were not to be reckoned among pertinents any more than mills.[5] Thus, save in certain special circumstances, a mill erected after investiture in the lands required a "special sasine." We may have a licence to build a mill, yet mills were no more *inter regalia* than included in pertinents. The suggestion is that fortalices were in the same legal category as mills, that is, were among the subjects ranking as separate tenements or holdings, which in any grant had to be specifically named as included. They were not *inter regalia*, neither were they among pertinents. Because of their special relationship to lands they were, like mills, in a class by themselves (cf. p. 195). At first the character of the building so warranted is sufficiently indicated by the name; later on it is further defined by a list of features, "with barmkin, battleing etc," just as "lands" might be further defined as "with woods, marshes, moors, paths, etc." As lawyers got into their professional stride, less and less was left to implication or inference, and charters extend their sinuous phraseology to a wearisome length.

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[1] Cf. *Domestic Architecture of the Middle Ages*, Part II, p. 401.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 291.

[3] This is, as might be expected, too absolute. Cf. p. 195.

[4] Lib. II, Dieg. 9, § 17, and Lib. I, Dieg. 12, § 16.

[5] Lib. II, Dieg. 3, § 24; Stair, Bk. II, Tit. III, lxxi.

If then lands are granted upon which no tower or fortalice yet existed, the grant included a clause warranting such an erection *terras . . . cum potestate erigendi*, etc. If, however, the conveyance of lands had been completed, and subsequently there was the need or desire to raise such a building, then either there had to be all the formality of a fresh grant, as in the Largo example, or a special licence (*licencia specialis*) was issued conferring the new right and so completing the conveyance. Without such a licence the title of the builder was not good, and he might be held to have committed the offence of purpresture.[1]

The case of Reres is perhaps applicable here. On 16 October, 1392, at Dunfermline, Sir John Wemyss had a royal confirmation of all earlier grants of lands to him in Fife, including those of the barony of Reres. This document is immediately followed on the same day and at the same place by a special licence to erect "a castle with towers and their pertinents of any kind in his lands of Reres, in form, strength and height (*summitatem*) as shall seem most expedient to him."[2] The documents are drawn independently, obviously because the first is wholly confined to a confirmation of pre-existing deeds; the other deals with a new subject. The Reres documents may, of course, standing by themselves, be interpreted either in the legal sense just given or as exemplifying the contention that no fortalice could be erected without royal permission. But we must take them in the light of the general considerations advanced against the latter claim. If that claim fail on its merits, the other is the only explanation. And that other—that the King (or, in the Kilravock case, the earl) was exercising his right as superior of lands and not a prerogative right to control the erection of fortalices as such—is a proposition which seems to cover all the cases. It is not without its difficulties, but the difficulties in establishing the alternative proposition are surely more fundamental.

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[1] Thus in 1497 there was a case in the burgh of Haddington of a tenement lately built "upon the commone streit," i.e. royal property, "which suld thairthrow pertene to the Kingis hieness as his eschete (i.e. forfeit) throw purprusione" (*Acts of the Lords of Council, s.a.* p. 85). In such circumstances a licence was necessary.

[2] *R.M.S.*, I, Nos. 870, 871.

The licences to provide a house within a burgh with battleing, machicolation, etc., can scarcely be held to have any relation to public defence. In two of the cases it is expressly stated that such provision is intended but as a protection against fire or weather. It was purely a matter of structural advantage or convenience.

Licences

1346. Dunnottar. William Earl of Sutherland and Spouse: "integram rupem nostram de Dunotir . . . cum libera potestate et licentia dictam rupem edificandi et fortalicium construendi in eadem." (*Reg. Mag. Sig.*, I, App. I, No. 122.)

> . . . full power and licence to build upon the said rock and construct a fortalice on it.

1390. Kindrochit in Mar. Sir Malcolm Drummond: "licentiam nostram specialem ad edificandum . . . turrem sive forsletum in terris de Kyndrochit." (*Antiq. Colls. Aberdeen and Banff*, IV, p. 162.)

> . . . our special licence to build a tower or fortlet, etc.

1392. Reres. Sir John de Wemyss: "licentiam nostram specialem situandi construendi et edificandi unum castrum cum turribus et pertinenciis suis quibuscumque in terris suis de Reres, ad formam fortitudinem et summitatem prout sibi melius videbitur expedire." (*R.M.S.*, I, No. 871.)

> . . . to construct and raise a castle with towers and pertinents of any sort, etc., in form, strength and height as will seem most expedient to him.

1424. Dundas. James of Dundas: "licentiam et benevolentiam specialem turrim sive fortalicium de Dundas in modum castri cum *le*[1] *kyrnelys* etc. . . . ad hujusmodi fortalicium juxta modum regni Scotie consuetis, edificandi, construendi, fortificandi, et in altum erigendi, etc." (*R.M.S.*, *s.a.*, No. 1.)

[1] French article *le*.

> . . . licence and special favour to build a tower or fortalice of Dundas in the manner of a castle with the kernels, etc., usual in a fortalice of this sort according to the manner of the kingdom of Scotland.

1430. BORTHWICK. Sir William of Borthwick: "licenciam specialem construendi castrum in loco illo qui vulgariter dicitur le Mote de Lochorwart . . . ac ipsum castrum seu fortalicium erigere et fortificare, etc." (*R.M.S.*, *s.a.*, No. 157.)

> . . . to construct a castle in that place which is commonly called the Mote of Lochorwart . . . and to erect and fortify the same castle.

1449. MEARNS. Herbert, Lord Maxwell: "et heredibus suis plenam et liberam facultatem et nostram licenciam specialem turrim sive fortalicium in suis terris jacentibus in baronia de le Merenys . . . construendi ac . . . muris et fossis fortificandi, etc." (Fraser's *Maxwells of Pollock*, I, p. 167.)

> . . . free faculty and special licence to erect a tower or fortalice in his lands, etc., and fortify it with walls and ditches.

1454. CAWDOR. William, Thane of Cawdor: "plenam et liberam facultatem et licentiam specialem castrum suum de Caldore . . . construendi ac ipsum castrum cum muris et fossis fortificandi etc. ac in summitate ejusdem turriculis et ornamentis defensionis ac apparatibus et fortitudinibus bellicis preparandi et ornandi etc. cum foedis juribus consuetudinibus privilegiis castro attinentibus et in talibus castris secondum regni nostri consuetudinem est fieri consuetum . . . Proviso tamen quod dictum castrum nobis heredibus et successoribus nostris semper promptum existat et paratum et quod nos heredes et successores nostri semper habeamus liberum introitum et egressum sine difficultate aut obstaculo, etc." (*Thanes of Cawdor* (Spalding Club), p. 20.)

> . . . full and free faculty and special licence to erect his castle of Cawdor and fortify it with walls and ditches and equip the summit of the same with turrets and means of defence, with warlike provision and strengths, etc.; with feus, rights, customs, privileges pertaining to a castle and usual in such castles according to the custom of our realm . . . Provided however that the said castle be always open and ready to us, our heirs and successors and

that we and our heirs and successors have always free entry and exit without difficulty or obstacle, etc.

1460 (Feb. 18). KILRAVOCK. John, Earl of Ross and Lord of the Isles: "to Huchone de Ross, baron of Kylravock" to erect "a toure of fens," etc. (*Family of Kilravock* (Spalding Club), p. 135.)

1470. CROMARTY. Sir William Urquhart: "lie Mote et Montem Mansionis de Cromathy . . . insuper . . . nostram licentiam et facultatem specialem turrem sive fortalicium super dicto lie Mote et Monte de Cromathy aedificandi et construendi, etc." (Macfarlane's *Genealogical Collections*, II, p. 375.)

> . . . to construct a tower or fortalice on the Mote or Mount of Cromarty.

1491. RAVENSCRAIG (Aberdeen). Sir Gilbert Keith of Inverugie: "Insuper nos cum avisamento nostri consilii et pro bono gratuitoque servicio . . . dedimus et concessimus . . . Gilberto et heredibus suis plenariam et liberam licentiam libertatem et potestatem ad edificandum et construendum castrum seu fortalicium super dicta rupe nuncupata Ravenscraig ad longitudinem latitudinem et altitudinem quas eis melius videbitur expedire etc . . . ac cum foedis constabulariorum et janitorum et cum omnibus aliis et singulis libertatibus commoditatibus asiamentis et proficuis quibuscunque cuicunque castro infra regnum nostris spectantibus seu spectare valentibus in futurum, etc." (*Antiq. Colls. Aberdeen and Banff*, IV, p. 71; *R.M.S., s.a.*, No. 2030.)

> . . . with concurrence of our Council and for good service given gratuitously we have given and granted to Gilbert and his heirs full and free licence liberty and power to build and construct a castle or fortalice upon the rock called Ravenscraig in length, breadth and height as shall seem to them best . . . with feus for constables and janitors and with all and sundry powers, rights revenues and profits whatsoever pertaining to any castle within the kingdom or likely to pertain in future.

1491. INCHGARVIE. John Dundas of Dundas: "cum avisamento Parliamenti et concilii sui compassionem habentes de spoliacione . . . quamplurimarum navium tam extraneis quam ligeis et subditis nostris pertinencium . . . Dedimus Johanni Dundas de eadem et heredibus suis . . . insulam et rupem de Inchgard . . . cum potestate ad edificandum super eadem insula castrum sive fortalicium cum vectibus ferriis etc. ac omnibus defensionibus pro securitate quarumcunque navium ad dictam insulam causa securitatis advenientium, etc." (*R.M.S.*, *s.a.*, No. 2038; *Act. Parl. Scot.*, II, p. 270.)

> . . . with concurrence of Parliament and Council and in pity for the spoliation . . . of many ships pertaining as well to strangers as to our subjects . . . we have given to John Dundas of Dundas, etc. . . . the island and rock of Inchgarvie . . . with power to build on the same island a castle or fortalice with iron bars, etc., and all defences for the safety of whatever ships may come to the said island for the sake of security, etc.

1491. LARGO. Andrew Wood: Ratifying and confirming former charters of lands and "quia ipse Andreas domos et fortalicium . . . in dictis terris et villa . . . ob piratorum et invasorum resistentiam et expulsionem . . . construxit et edificavit . . . insuper concessit eidem Andree et heredibus ejus . . . liberam licentiam in dictis terris turrim seu fortalicium edificandi, etc." (*R.M.S.*, *s.a.*, No. 2040; *Act. Parl. Scot.*, II, p. 228.)

> . . . because the same Andrew has erected houses and a fortalice for the withstanding and repulse of pirates and raiders . . . (the King) has granted to the said Andrew and his heirs free licence to build a tower or fortalice on the said lands.

1499-50. WARDIEHOW (WERDIHOW). Sir John Towers of Inverleith: "and his aeris gevand him licence to big a tour and fortales apon his landis of Werdihow upon the sey cost for the defens of his landis placis and gudis fra the invasion of Inglismen in tyme of wer." (*Reg. Sec. Sig.*, *s.a.*, No. 453.)

1500. ESSLEMONT. John Cheyne: "and his airis to big a tour within his landis of Essilmond to quhat hicht he plesis and mak therapon irn yettis, machcolyn, etc." (*Reg. Sec. Sig.*, 552.)

1507-8. SADDELL. David Bishop of Lismore: "quia dicta abbacia per papam episcopatui Lismorensi unita est . . . terras suprascriptas incorporavit in unam liberam baroniam de Sagadull, cum potestate edificandi castra, turres, et fortalicia infra dictas terras pro custodia earundem." (*R.M.S.*, *s.a.*, No. 3170.)

. . . erection of the barony of Saddell with power of building castles, towers and fortalices within the said lands for their safe-keeping.

1508. URQUHART. John Grant of Freuchie: "12 mercatas terrarum de Bordlaund de Urquhart, cum castro et fortalicio earundem . . . (other lands) . . . quas rex pro bono servitio incorporavit in unam liberam baroniam et feodifirmam de Urquhart: *Reddendo* . . . necnon dict. Joh. et heredes astruendo et edificando in capitali messuagio de Urquhart turrim cum antemurali sive propugnaculo, etc." (*R.M.S.*, *s.a.*, No. 3390.)

. . . Rental: the said John and his heirs to erect and build on the head messuage of Urquhart a tower with defences (cf. p. 139).

1511-2. CARNOCK. Robert Bruse of Auchinbowy: "A Licence maid . . . to erect and big his toure and fortalice of Carnok, with irn zettis, barmkin, portculis, battaling, corbaldsailze and uther maner of fortifiing and strenthin necessar and as salbe sene expedient for defence and kepin of the sammyn, persouns and gudis being thairin, etc." (*Reg. Sec. Sig.*, Vol. I, No. 2360.)

1514-5. According to Mr. J. R. Findlay, author of *Hatton House* (1875, privately printed, p. 10), William de Lawdre of Haltoun received from the King licence "to fortify or re-edify his house at Halton, and appoint porters and other officers thereat" "he being disturbed by the family of Bothwell" (MS. history). This licence is said to have been signed by the King himself—about which there must be some mistake, as His Majesty was then only three years of age—and was dated at Stirling in the second year of the reign, being sealed with the unicorn in absence of the Seal." The date would be between 9 September, 1514, and 8 September, 1515.

IN BURGHS

1508. GLASGOW. Johne Elphinstoun: "A lettre made . . . gevand and grantand to him . . . full licence and power to byg and erect his fore hous in his land and tenement liand within the said ciete in the hiegate thairof, etc., with battelling, machcoling and all uther maner of defens and munitioun necessar for savite (safety) and proffit of his said hous and thak thairof fra invasioun of fyre, wynd and uther ways;

and wil and grantis that he nor his ayris sal nocht be accusit, vext, trublit, hurt nor incur nocht danger nor skath thairthrow in thair persons, landis nor gudis be ony maner of way in tyme cummyn, nochtwithstanding ony statutis or lawis of the kingis in the contrare, etc." (*Reg. Sec. Sig.*, Vol. I, No. 1696.)

1538. BANFF. Sir Walter Ogilvy of Dunlugas: "his hienes . . . in speciale for the honorable ressaving of his grace quhen he sall happin to resort in the north partis of his realme, gevis and grantis full licence, tollerance, faculte, power and fredome to the said Walter to big and have ane hous within the burgh of Banff of palice wys with barmking, battelling, gun hollis and uthiris munitionis and fortalices notwithstanding ony actis statutis lawis . . . maid or to be maid in the contrair . . ." and provided the common weal of the burgh and inhabitants be not hurt thereby. (*Reg. Sec. Sig., s.a.*, No. 2515.)

1549. WIGTOWN. "Ane lettre maid to William Ahannay burges of Wigtoun and his airis gevand thame full power and fredome to raiss and set furth the heid of his hous lyand on the north syde of the hiegaitt therof and with battaling and corbell sailze in the maist honest and substantious maner he pleissis, etc. and siclike as ony uthir hous is biggit and heidit with battaling and corbell sailze[1] in burght or outwith within the Realme, etc. and with command . . . in speciall to the provest, baillies counsale and communitie of the said burght of Wigtoun that nane of thame tak upoun hand to mak ony impediment stop latt or disaiblement to the said William or his airis foirsaidis in bigging and battaling of his said hous, etc." (*Reg. Sec. Sig.*, XXIII, f. 51.)

1556. EDINBURGH. "Ane lettre maid to Patrik Edzear burges of Edinburgh heretabill possessoure of ane land and tenement lyand within the said burgh one the south syde of the same betwix etc. Gevand grantand and committand to the said Patrik his airis and successouris full power fre facultie and speciall licence to big and have ane voult or voultis under the calsay etc. etc. And attour gifis Licence to the said Patrik his airis and successouris to allair[2] and battaill the south syde of his said tenement and land for resisting of the violence of wynd and wedder and conservation of the sclaits and thak being upoun his said hous and tenement, etc." (*Reg. Sec. Sig.*, XXVIII, f. 22 (*b*).)

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[1] Projection, French *saillie.*

[2] I.e. *allure* (cf. p. 92) or equip with a walk at the wall head within the "battleing."

1587. EDINBURGH. "Ane lettre etc. gaif and grantit to Alexr. Clerk of Balburnie sumtyme provest of Edinburgh speciall licence libertie heretabill fredome and perpetuall privilege to set furth afoir his foirsaid wall of his tenement etc. pillaris of stane als far furth etc. and above the same pillaris to big massie wall alsmony hous[1] heichis as he sall pleis and to mak the same with battelyne upoun the foir wall and uthiris pairtis etc. and to mak and to haif foir voltis under the calsay etc." (*Reg. Sec. Sig.*, LV, f. 189 (*b*).)

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[1] I.e. room.

APPENDIX B

THE KEEP

THE origin of the word Keep has been commented upon in the text. But its novelty and uncertainty of meaning are perhaps not sufficient to explain its later popularity, whereby it has become the normal equivalent with translators for the Latin *turris* or the French *tour* or *donjon,* instead of the quite legitimate word " tower," as well as the most hard-worked term in the vocabulary of writers upon mediaeval castles. Nor is it merely a case of verbal economy, the use of one word instead of two like " great tower " or " master tower ; " we get " shell-keep " and " gatehouse-keep " and " tower-keep." There is some more subtle service in the word.

In previous pages it has been pointed out that the feudal castle was in type the fortified residence of a feudal baron. For centuries feudal barons made their homes in such castles. War did not alter their character ; they were prepared to put up a defence. That was their distinguishing mark. The Conqueror's castles in England were simply mote-and-bailey structures like those of his barons. Chateau Gaillard, built by Richard I on the bank of the Seine, was an elaborate mote-and-bailey plan in stone. Harlech, constructed by Edward I when engaged in the subjugation of Wales, is, as writers have cunningly observed, closely similar in plan and features to Caerphilly, the castle built on the Marches for the Clare Earls of Gloucester and Hertford in the time of Edward's father. That is, a royal castle erected for conquest simply repeats a strong baronial mansion. A seventeenth century military fortification as such had nothing in common with a gentleman's country house ; a mediaeval castle and a baronial residence were one and the same. The more unfriendly the neighbourhood the stronger it had to be, but that was the only qualification.

It is not easy, however, for the modern mind to grasp these mediaeval complexes. We start with a clear-cut distinction between what is military and what is civil ; between warlike preparation, which is a function of the State, and the occupancy of a house, which is a private matter ; between the soldier and the citizen. But to apply such categories precisely throughout the Middle Ages is not merely to be guilty of anachronism ; it is to invoke obscurity and misunderstanding. The idea of the keep as it was developed in the nineteenth century appears to be the result of an application of these categories.

It is clear, at least, that the latest systematic writer upon English castles, in which some Scottish examples are included, Professor Hamilton Thompson in his *Military Architecture in England During the Middle Ages*,[1] works upon a different conception from that outlined above. " A castle," he writes, " is a private fortress, built by an individual lord as a military stronghold, and also as an occasional residence " (p. 35). " Occasional " is not defined, but evidently residence is not regarded as quite a normal use. It is always treated somewhat casually. In another place we have this : " The tower of Conisbrough, like that of Orford, was intended for residential as well as defensive purposes " (p. 168). But why this specification ? Was not every tower of the sort built as a residence ? If so, why not start there ? Why drag in " occasional " ? No more then than now did a country gentleman necessarily confine himself to one house, and even in peace a house had to be occupied either all the time or for some time. Nor is it quite clear what we are to make of the following statement : " It has been already remarked that the donjon of a castle sometimes formed the residence of its lord as well as a strong tower in time of war. The towers of London and Colchester were certainly planned . . . with this double end in view " (p. 134). Here again is the suggestion of something not properly to be expected ; a less confident expression of G. T. Clark's conclusion, mainly based on Victorian ideas of " comfort," that " a Norman keep . . . was not meant for a residence, save during an actual siege." [2] Professor Hamilton Thompson does not go so far as Mr. Clark ; but neither will he go so far as to recognise plainly that these early towers were residences in the full sense, that is, no more " occasional " than any other. " One of Mr. Clark's most pronounced mistakes," writes Mrs. Armitage, " was his idea that these keeps were merely towers of refuge used only in time of war.

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[1] The present writer would not like anything said here by way of criticism on this issue to obscure his appreciation of the works cited or his sense of their great value to all students of the subject. To Sir Charles Oman's *History of the Art of War* his debt is long-standing.

[2] *Mediaeval Military Architecture in England*, Vol. I, p. 136.

History abounds with evidences that they were the permanent residences of the nobles of the eleventh and twelfth centuries." [1] Sir Charles Oman, however, compromises somewhat: "Even in Norman days the lord did not always live in his stronghold, but only repaired thither in time of war. . . . Only in exposed frontier fortresses such as those of the Welsh Marches, did the master find it necessary to make his keep his permanent abode." [2] Some keeps then were abodes; and as the London and Colchester type must be included, according to Professor Thompson, these keep-abodes were not confined to "exposed frontier fortresses." The conception of the keep as a normally unoccupied military retreat seems to be shrinking to small dimensions, as admissions of its residential use extend.

The distinction is not merely verbal, nor the emphasis given to "fortress" and the minimising or even exclusion of "residence" really indifferent. The military point of view is so sharply defined in our minds as to leave out whole classes of things incompatible with it for us but not for the mediaeval mind. Thus Professor Thompson can define a castle as "a military post which may include one or more dwelling-houses within its walls" (p. 338), a definition which would serve equally well for a modern military post, and just on that account is to be suspected. And he can discriminate in regard to the castle the stages "in the development of the domestic ideal as applied to military architecture." (p. 330), whereas the whole history of the mediaeval castle is in reality an illustration of the reverse process, the application of military architecture, more or less, to domestic dwellings. From the former point of view one can as properly speak of the application of the town ideal to military architecture in the case of fortified towns, whereas the fact of the matter is again just the reverse. It was the house in the one case and the town in the other that was fortified, without either losing its particular character.

So much, once more, for the general idea; we may now examine the special part played by the notion of the keep. It is a rather protean notion, difficult to retain in a simple form. In the earliest type of castle, "the stronghold of the lord of Ardres upon its mount," that is, a tower "planned as a spacious dwelling" upon a mote, "the keep was the castle" and "necessarily served the double purpose of fortress and residence" (Thompson, p. 188). On page 110 it is explained that the word keep was "unknown to mediaeval builders, to whom this part of the castle was the *donjon* or *dungeon*, or the *great tower*." But in the case just cited it would appear that the keep was not "part of the castle;" we are told it "was the castle." It was in fact just the donjon or tower. Thus at the very outset we risk confusion by the old resource of multiplying terms beyond necessity. At the next stage "the great stone tower became the fashionable form of keep" (p. 106), and "the keep of Norman and early Plantagenet days was virtually a castle within a castle" (p. 110). If besiegers forced an entrance into the bailey, the defenders could withdraw to the tower and "concentrate themselves for a last struggle" (p. 110). But "in castles like Exeter and Ludlow there was from the first a stone wall without a definite keep, the enclosure being virtually a keep in itself" (p. 113), that is there was no mount or great tower, and the first struggle therefore was also the last. On the other hand, Mrs. Armitage credits Exeter with a "gatehouse-keep;" it "appears never to have had any keep but the primitive gatehouse." She suggests that "the gatehouse-keep is probably an economical device for combining a citadel with the defence of the weakest part of the castle."[1] Professor Thompson further suggests that, when a stone wall was built round the summit of the mount in place of a wooden palisade, "the necessity of a tower would be removed" (p. 113). This conclusion does not follow, for the timber tower could and did in cases co-exist with the stone wall. Putting this consideration aside we are instructed that now not a tower but "the encircling wall formed the keep." Such "was the genesis of the so-called 'shell-keep,' which converted the summit of the mount into a strong inner ward" (p. 113).

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[1] *Early Norman Castles*, p. 259.

[2] *History of the Art of War*, II., p. 18.

Reviewing this analysis then we find that we began with the keep as the timber tower on the mound of an enclosure, extend the name to the great stone tower of Norman and early Plantagenet days, and end with keep as a mere enclosing wall on a mound. If we take the major premiss in the argument to be that every castle must have a "centre of ultimate resistance," we have to limit this proposition by the fact that there were also castles, as given above, without any such "centre" or "definite keep," the enclosure being "virtually a keep in itself."

Two examples of this latter type have been mentioned. Another is Richmond (Yorks), where "the whole castle protected by its stone wall, had in itself the strength of a keep" (p. 212). Here it must be pointed out that for a castle to be "virtually a keep in itself" or to have "in itself the strength of a keep" is not at all the same thing as to have a keep. In terms of the case, a keep was a specially strong place for a last stand of the defenders, and no castle could ever be so strong as not to permit of some limited position materially stronger, even if it is necessary to admit that a last stand necessitates such forethought. As to Richmond, Professor Thompson adds that, at a later date, "when it became likely that the stone curtain might show less resistance than its builders anticipated . . . a tower-keep was provided." There is no actual authority for this piece of reasoning; it is pure hypothesis. The tower in question "stood in the forefront of the defence of the principal ward of the castle. In the first instance it protected the curtain, while, if all else failed, its use, the primary use of such buildings, as an ultimate place of retirement for its defenders, could be demonstrated" (p. 212).

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[1] *Early Norman Castles*, pp. 359, 360.

But another patron of the keep, Sir Charles Oman, is not so confident about such a demonstration. He points out that a "deviation from the old practice of the west was that the strongest tower was sometimes built not in the most secure and well-defended part of the castle, as a place of final refuge, but at the forefront of the most exposed part of the fortress" (as we have just seen at Richmond) "so as to bear the brunt of the attack. In this case, the keep, if keep we may call it, would be the first part of the place which would be assaulted by the besieger, and the first, perhaps, to fall into his hands."[1] Thus, while Professor Thompson is assured in his judgment, Sir Charles Oman has his most reasonable doubts. The builders have left us no hint of how they would have pronounced on such an issue, the nature of which almost certainly never occurred to them: they would have spoken of the place as a tower and let it go at that. It would save a lot of trouble if "we" did the same.

But Richmond is not the only type of castle in regard to which there may be difference of opinion on so vital a feature. Of Newark Professor Thompson holds that "the gatehouse had something of the importance of a keep" (p. 99). This is a disappointing periphrasis. Mr. Harvey, for his part, instances this "most perfect example of a large Norman gatehouse" but decides that the castle "has now no trace of a keep, and probably never possessed one."[2] Professor Thompson replies that "the gatehouse . . . may fairly be considered as belonging to the category of tower-keeps" (as cited, p. 99 n.). Apparently there is a subjective side to the question of what is or is not a keep, as we have already seen very clearly in the case of Exeter. Mr. Harvey contends that the "very latest examples" of Norman keeps "were built purely as refuges in case of siege" and cites Porchester "where the keep, though one of the largest, is very rudely finished, and is even without a fireplace" (as cited, p. 66). Professor Thompson goes as far as to say that the Porchester tower "was apparently built for exclusively military purposes," also making a point of the lack of fireplaces. Equally worthy of remark, however, are the facts that (1) the tower is divided vertically by a cross-wall with but a single stair to serve both divisions, which from the military point of view is scarcely an advantageous construction; (2) even after completion in its original form the tower was raised about as high again, giving an additional couple of floors, as if there was some pressure for further accommodation; (3) absence of fireplaces, if so significant, implies also absence of a kitchen, so that there would be no cooked food for the final defence; and (4) the first and the second roof were "equally impracticable for a defensive platform."[1] Such a tower is not very convincing as exclusively a refuge for military purposes.

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[1] *History of the Art of War*, Vol. II, p. 30. Cf. *ante*, p. 143.

[2] *The Castles and Walled Towns of England*, by Alfred Harvey, p. 98.

Returning from these divagations we are informed that "the keep had a traditional importance in the scheme of the castle, and the main energy of the castle-builders of the twelfth century was directed towards strengthening its powers of resistance" (Thompson, p. 212), where presumably a keep could be discerned. But "in the thirteenth century . . . military engineers began to concentrate their ingenuity upon the outer walls and entrances of the castle," though really they had been doing something of this sort long before, as we saw above at Richmond, Ludlow, Newark, etc. Thus "as scientific fortification developed the keep dropped into a secondary position or was left out of the plan altogether" (*ibid.*). But though Professor Thompson does not meet the point, others do not feel so comfortable about the disappearance of the place for ultimate defence or a last stand from what are now classed as keepless castles. Mr. Harvey's second group in this category is constituted by "castles in which the keep was discarded and its place taken by a main ward of no great area, surrounded by a lofty wall of *enceinte*, flanked by boldly projecting mural towers . . . and containing the state and domestic apartments" (p. 5). Once more then the whole castle is the keep, a meaningless description. Another group is the really tiny one of concentric castles. In these Sir Charles Oman explains that " the final refuge of the garrison is not a massive keep standing alone, but a quadrangular enclosure guarded by several towers, which forms the inner ward of the Castle " (II, pp. 39-40). But the definition of the keep all along has been that it was " the final refuge," so that the keep is now an inner ward, a small thing after just hearing that " its place " might be taken not by a mere ward but by the castle as a whole.

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[1] Clark, II, p. 394; cf. Thompson, p. 156.

Be it noted, too, that the absence of a keep in " keepless castles " does not mean that there are no towers. On the contrary, the towers may be embarrassingly numerous. Moreover, two of these at Carnarvon have walls at ground level 15 feet thick and internal dimensions of 34 feet, are in fact in these respects as strong and ample as most of the very best accepted keeps. Hedingham " keep " with internal measurements about the same has walls only 11 feet thick. In comparison with the other smaller towers these two at Carnarvon are principal towers, but two keeps would certainly be a distraction. (On this see *ante*, p. 82.) Moreover, at the concentric castle of Harlech there is a gatehouse, " a complete mansion in itself " (Thompson, p. 275), of such dimensions as in an earlier castle would have fixed it down as a keep without cavil : its position on the inner ward is quite in its favour. But the scheme, into which it has to fit, has no place for the old-fashioned keep.

But if any one supposes we have now rung all possible changes upon the term keep, he must be disappointed. Despite the apparently knock-out blow of " scientific fortification," the keep emerges again in the case of Warkworth, actually built about the beginning of the fifteenth century. " This house," says Professor Thompson, " combines the features of keep and private residence in a most unusual way " (p. 328). One is thankful, however, at last to have the conviction expressed that a great tower may simply be a fortified residence. So, in another connection, " the residence is provided with its strong tower, which, at Tattershall as at Warkworth, is identical with the residence itself " (p. 356). This metaphysical phraseology must not blind us to the fact that there is nothing new in this identity. Professor Thompson himself writes of the donjon of Fulk the Black erected in 992 : " This keep was obviously intended to be at once stronghold and residence " (p. 116). But we are now at the stage at which the use of the word keep seems to depend wholly upon the humour of the writer. Beyond the thirteenth century at latest Professor Thompson has clearly no liking for it, though others are not so fastidious. Of the manor of Wingfield built about the middle of the fifteenth century he writes that " the defences of the house apart from the accommodation for barracks and the safety of refugees in the base-court, and from ordinary strength of the gateways, were restricted to the provision of a tower as a last resource " (p. 352). But this tower is not called or classed as a keep, albeit " a last resource," nor is it explained why not. There is an even later case, that of Ashby-de-la-Zouch, where on the south side " the domestic apartments are packed together in a great square tower, recalling in size and form a Norman keep " (Harvey, p. 186). This is regretfully treated as a sorry lapse from good form on the part of the builders (cf. *ante*, p. 162). On the previous page are the plans of this " keep," there so named. Further, " the later castles of Nunney and Tattershall, or at least the former, may be regarded as abnormal examples of rectangular keeps occurring as late as the perpendicular period " (*ibid.*, p. 62). " Abnormal " really means not according to the rules which have been postulated. Once realise the traditional value and significance of a tower as a residence, as briefly noted in Chapter VI, and we realise the perfectly normal character of the erection. But once recognise that, and we have no use for the keep. The Scottish writers, Messrs. MacGibbon and Ross, however, at no stage desert the keep and so can write " of the fourteenth and fifteenth century keeps of Scotland, such as Clackmannan." [1] Now Clackmannan is but a tower. And that after all is what we get down to and what the word in popular use is made to signify. Keep is simply an unnecessary synonym for tower. Mr. Harvey thus can write that " the peel-towers . . . differ only in size " from keeps (as cited, p. 62).

The fact is that the tower or great tower is the only reality behind the term. Behind the other uses there is simply an idea, so that where one writer sees a keep another may not. Thus resuming the various applications of the word detailed above we find (1) of an early mote tower the keep is the castle, (2) every Norman tower is a keep, (3) there is a gatehouse-keep, (4) the stone wall round the summit of a mound is a shell-keep, (5) the whole castle is virtually a keep, (6) an inner ward serves as a keep, (7) a residence is identical with a keep, (8) a plain tower is a keep. It might be contended that the significance common to all the cases is that of an ultimate refuge for a besieged garrison, were it not that in a large proportion of the cases there is only a single refuge all over with no question of first and last, and that in others, where the keep is in the forefront of the defence, its "ultimate" service is highly problematical. Either, too, it has to be laid down that every castle must have "an ultimate place of retirement for its defenders"—in which case many accepted castles from the beginning must be denied the name, and in particular those later triumphs of the military art the "keepless castles"—or the keep notion must be abandoned. It is the effort to avoid this conclusion which leads to the proposed but not unanimous substitutes and the unwillingness to face the fact that Warkworth is as much entitled to its keep without qualification as Colchester. Or that what is common to these cases and to all the others is use as a residence, however much may be add thereto. The presence of residential buildings of another type did not necessarily eliminate the tower: they could and did exist together.

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[1] *Castellated and Domestic Architecture of Scotland*, Vol. I, p. 34.

It may be as well to say something on the question of a last stand in some ultimate position by a beleaguered garrison. That of course was always possible, though, to judge from the more detailed accounts of sieges, less frequent than might be expected. It is the exceptions, too, that are significant. For example, at the capture of Chateau-Gaillard by Phillipe-Auguste, the defenders, when the last line of defence was pierced, made no effort to occupy the donjon but tried to get away by a postern and put up a stout resistance to capture. Sir Charles Oman, too, notes how "in the great series of sieges 1268-91, which ended the domination of the Christians on the Syrian coast, nearly all the castles surrendered very shortly after their second line of defence was pierced, without any serious attempt being made to hold out in the donjon or (where no donjon existed) in the innermost ward." [1]

In this respect a timber castle had its own special limitations, as is shown in the case of Appleby when besieged by William the Lion in 1174. On the first day the bailey was taken. The defenders then occupied the tower. "Now they are in that tower," says the chronicler, "few hours will they hold out (*curtes ures durrunt*) . . . they will be burned in it." [2] Accordingly the tower was set on fire: and this must always have been the drawback in such structures to an ultimate refuge in the "keep." The tower in these circumstances was a trap.

As for the great Norman towers, like Hedingham, so entirely disproportionate to their outer defences, it seems pushing things to an excess to talk of their defence as a "final effort." The tower was the thing to be defended from the beginning; the outer works were merely auxiliary to its defence.

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[1] As cited, II, p. 37.

[2] *Jordan de Fantosme*, II, 1489-90.

Let it be said again that a garrison determined to hold out to the last effort would do so, even in a "keepless castle." Otherwise castles in which no proper provision for such a contingency is thoughtfully provided, must be pronounced abnormal. But we have been instructed that the evolution of military engineering was towards the elimination of the keep proper and the furnishing at best of some conjectural substitute. The moral is that the "last stand" was not so patently present in the minds of builders as is assumed and that some other factor was at work.

Nor do contemporary historians have much regard to the matter. Whether there has been the regular procedure or not never moves them to comment. Surprise is not expressed over the neglect to hold the donjon at Chateau-Gaillard or anywhere else. And even when a donjon is held before surrender, the curious fact usually emerges that the weakness is a lack of food. Apparently we are to take it that everything had been calculated for but that!

A few leading examples of what might happen at a siege may be taken from chronicles dealing with the loss of Normandy by the English after 1448.[1] The operations at Verneuil followed the code. When the town was entered by the French, the English withdrew to the castle, and when that was taken retired into a very strong tower, capacious and lofty, where they were able to hold out against a blockade for about a month, till their food failed. But this is the solitary case of the kind. At Argenton the French took the town, then entered the castle by breaching the wall and drove the defenders (*barbaros fugat*) into a lofty tower or the donjon, which was immediately surrendered to them. Caen had one of the strongest castles in Normandy with a very strong tower resembling that of London. In the castle was the Duke of Somerset as Governor of Normandy. As soon as the town wall was pierced, the place was surrendered on terms. At Rouen the English were forced to abandon the walls and gates of the town and withdraw into the palace, the bridge towers and the castle. When siege operations began against the palace, they surrendered everything. When the town of Pontaudemer was entered, the English took refuge in a strong house at the end of the town and immediately thereafter surrendered.

Generally in these sieges the procedure was even more summary.

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[1] Robertus Blondelli, *De Reductione Normanniae; Le Recouvrement de Normendie*, par Berry, Hérault de Roy (Rolls Series).

As soon as the outer defences were broken, the English gave up the place. The impression one gathers is that the very few attempts to prolong the siege in a great tower were looked upon as a desperate course. For one thing there was apparently no special provision of food; of several towers it is said that they might be considered impregnable if there was food to eat. The point is that in this whole lengthy record of siege operations no principle of the kind required can be discerned. The cases of final retreat to a strong tower are of the fewest and non-significant. They only afford a breathing-time before surrender. There is nothing to fortify the assumption that this procedure was so much to be expected that careful provision was made for carrying it out, or that a castle was designed from the first with this end in view. Whether or not there should be a " last stand " defence did not depend on the presence of a keep in any sense. It could scarcely do so where the essential matter of food supply was left out of account. The prominence given to this notion in castle analysis is, it is claimed, not borne out by events.

APPENDIX C

RECONSTRUCTION OF A CASTLE IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

" . . . Cowthally house,[1] which stood within the mosse, and, before this lord's tyme, could be non of the convenientest, in regaird it consisted only of three great towers, not one of them joyned to other. The first was that upon the north next to the moss, directly four-squair; and, by what was standing of it when I saw it, it appeared by the contryvance and rudenes of the workmanship, to be the first building that ever had been there, and of long continuance. The second was that upon the east, looking to the toune of Carnwath, a perfect circle, as the foundatione represents, which is all that is standing of it. The third is that which was built by William, the second barrone of Carnwath, of the name of Somervill, and stands yet upon the right-hand as ye enter the second gate, looking to the south: it's four-squair, and twice walled, and hes had a double battlement, the first wherof hes gone of the levin of the second vault. All these towers wer joyned only by a barakine[2] wall, and each of them in breadth and lenth had but one spacious roume, one above another. It's likely, by what remaines of two of them, they have been four storie high; but how they came to the uppermost roumes passes my understanding. This was the fabrick of the house of Cowthally, when Hugh Lord Somervill begane to build; and I admire, considering the baseness of the stance, the unwhollsomenes of the place, being double ditched, with standing watter about it, and inconveniency of the house itself, being impossible to make it regular, without razeing the wholl to the foundatione, he should not have imployed his money and paines upon a better stance, seing ther was many pleasanter and convenienter stances for a house within the barronie of Carnwath; but, in all probabilitie, the same reasones that necessitat the first builders to place ther habitatione there, moved him to continue his; for countrey feedes was yet in vigour, and banding amongst the nobilitie and gentrie, soe that upon the least offence they wer in armes; and if by inequalitie of number wer really worstit, they wer necessitat to flee, the house itself and its situatione was a sure retreat; for ther was noe possibilitie to approach the same but at two passes, which a few men might easily defend; or because it had been for a long tyme the principall residence of his predecessores, might prove the only motive to perswade him to contryve it soe for the future. Thairfore, in *anno* 1524, he buildes one quarter[1] upward of ane hundered foot, standing east and west, joyning to the north tower, soe that one syde of it made a part of the syde wall of this building. The tower itself being without the house, had three parts of it only seen, the fourth being for a part of the syde-wall of the great house; and had doores strucken through for each storie. The west end of this great building out-streatched the old tower twentieth foot; and upon the south corner had a great round[2] from the foundatione, a part wherof yet standes, and hes served for studies.[3] The east end of this same building came to the old round tower upon the east, which served that corner, and made it conforme to the west tower; but that this tower was much bigger, and served for a chamber. The wholl foundatione of this building, old and new, stood upon sex vaults, and a litle one beneath the south-west rounde. The staircase that served this house was a large turnepyke, placed upon the south, neer to the midle of the building,[4] the shell being round for the most part, was seen without that syde-wall wherupon it was placed. All this great building had in the second storie but sex roumes, in the new building a great hall, wherin the first contained of sextieth foot; a bed-chamber upon each end, twentieth and four foot square, for that was the breadth of the house. Each of the old towers had but one large roume that went of the same flooring; the one of them hes gone of the broad syde of the hall, and the other within the east chamber. That chamber upon the west of the hall had the benefite of a large studie from the round upon the south-west corner of the house. What roumes was in the third and fourth stories may easily be conjectured, for that space and lenth above the great hall being devyded in three, makes nyne roumes in every flooring.

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[1] Parish of Carnwath, Lanarkshire.

[2] barmkin, cf. p. 93: here apparently = curtain (ib.).

"This house being finished, three years thereftir, in *anno* 1528, he drew a long building conforme of a gallery, standing upon seven vaultes, from the south-side wall of the east pud of his new house

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[1] side, cf. p. 59.

[2] tower, cf. p. 101.

[3] small rooms, cf. p. 117.

[4] so-called **T** plan, cf. pp. 207-8.

. . . and joyned it to that great squair tower upon the south, and right-hand as ye enter the second gate, which, when it was finished by his grandchild, the last Lord Hugh, for this lord raised the same only two storie high, made two quarters compleat of the court, and of ane equall hight. Before this tyme ther had been buildings upon the west quarter of ane equall hight ; soe by this gallery the court had just three compleat quarters, and was all open to the south, save by a thick wall about fyve elles high, much wherof yet standes, which devyded betwext the inner and outter court, that had only office houses. The foundationes only now are to be seen ; and of the great house of the inner court ther is only standing the west end of the great hall.

"This nobleman, in imitatione of his father-in-law, repaired much of Cowthally house, and made it some what more light, most of the roumes before this being very darke. He likewayes took off the roof from the long gallery, and raised it in hight equall to the two towers whereunto the same gallery joyned, and sclait it all with sclaites. This worke he finished in the year 1586" (*Memorie of the Somervilles ;* being a history of the Baronial House of Somerville. By James, Eleventh Lord Somerville, Edinburgh, 1815, Vol. I, pp. 354-8, 461).

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(N.B.—*The spelling of certain names and words varies, as it does in the records*)

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